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BLM Social Effects Project

Community Report:

Craig, Colorado

By:

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Prepared by:

Mountain West Research - North, Inc.
in association with Western Research Corporation

Prepared for:

BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT
Contract No. AA851-CTO-46

July, 1982



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Chapter I

Introduction

1.1 Background

This report on Craig, Colorado is one in a series of ten community research working papers documenting the field research conducted as part of the BLM Social Effects Project. The project was designed to improve social assessment methods by conducting a literature review and primary research to develop and support a Guide to Social Assessment.

The project had five major components. The first component, a review of the literature, provided the basis for developing an analytic framework for the assessment of social effects of energy development. The literature review was organized into eight major subject areas which included the following:

- social organization
- political organization
- economic organization
- population and demography
- family
- specific groups, including Native Americans, women, and youth
- attitudes, values, and quality of life
- mitigation

The second component, the Social Effects Conference, was held in Denver in October, 1980. The conference brought representatives of state governments, the BLM, and the academic community together to determine what the focus of the project would be. A principal

objective was to integrate the perspectives of decision-makers and sociologists and develop a common set of assessment priorities.

The third component of the project, the research component, was based on the results of the literature analysis and the Social Effects Conference. The priorities identified for study centered on changes in community social organization and indicators of community well-being.

The fourth component of the project was the preparation of a social assessment guide. The Guide is the major product of the project; to ensure its applicability, it was given a trial application under actual field conditions.

The fifth component of the project was a public involvement effort to keep interest groups informed about the project. Meetings with BLM and state officials were held to brief them on the project and to solicit comments. A periodic bulletin was distributed to inform others about the project. In addition, training workshops for BLM social scientists were held to instruct them in the use of the Guide.

1.2 Purposes of the Research Effort

The research component was included in the project to achieve four major objectives:

- To identify social effects, including those suggested by the literature review and conference, and to verify them by field investigation.
- To test the analytic framework which was developed as a basis for the Guide.

- To further elucidate the mechanisms that cause social effects to occur in energy impact areas.
- To test field procedures and the conceptual approach at a level of effort comparable to that available to BLM staff conducting social assessments.

Although there were differences in emphasis among conference participants, seven priority assessment topics were identified as being of greatest concern. These were:

- 1) What is the distribution of socioeconomic effects among groups in impacted areas?
- 2) What determines the capacity of communities to manage growth?
- 3) What are the attitudes of residents, both old and new, toward development?
- 4) What are the effects on community facilities and services?
- 5) What are the major lifestyle and social organization changes resulting from energy development?
- 6) What are effective mitigation strategies?
- 7) How can cumulative social effects be measured or described?

Conference participants also emphasized that BLM needed an assessment method that could handle site-specific variations and that would be compatible with the multi-phase BLM assessment and planning processes.

The research phase was to last nine months and financial resources were limited. Clearly, the research effort could not do justice to all seven of the research priorities summarized above, and it was not the intention of BLM that the research effort provide definitive answers to all social impact questions. The goal was to devise an analytic framework that would produce effective social

assessments given the BLM process and, at the same time, to learn as much about the above areas of concern as the limited resources permitted. Thus, the project team was given the seven research priorities and was asked to create an appropriate analytic framework and method for implementing the research effort.

1.3 The Analytic Framework

Several general criteria guided the development of the analytic framework. The first criterion was to be sure that the subject of the research was clearly social in nature. The BLM believed that enough was known about how to do economic and demographic assessments as well as facilities and services assessments, but that social assessments needed improvement.

Second, if possible, BLM wanted the assessment process to discriminate between social effects that could be mitigated and those that probably could not. Before BLM or state and local entities can require mitigation, the effects must be known and feasible mitigation methods must be understood.

Third, the framework needed to be implementable within a variety of resource constraints. Each assessment effort within BLM has different constraints of time, personnel and funding. Thus, the framework needed to be workable under a variety of conditions.

A final criterion was that the framework should not only enable the forecasting of effects, but also should allow for determining the significance of effects for various populations, i.e., a basis was needed to determine the meaning of social effects.

In response to these criteria, an analytic framework was developed that is based upon the concept of social organization. As used in this project, social organization is a community level concept and is discussed in detail by Wilkinson in the Literature Review (Thompson and Branch, 1981). Basically, it focuses on the social structures and processes of community social organization as the most critical social characteristics potentially affected by energy development.

For general applicability, the four processes of social organization are differentiation, extra-local linkages, stratification, and integration. These are the broad social science labels used to describe these processes. But for purposes of this report, names of the processes have been restricted to those elements of the process which appeared to be of the greatest importance for western energy assessments. These terminology changes have been made in keeping with our intent to make this research report a companion to the Social Effects Guide:

- diversity/complexity (differentiation)
- outside linkages (extra-local linkages)
- distribution of resources/power (stratification)
- coordination/cooperation (integration)

The analytic framework posits that change in the fundamental processes of social organization - complexity/diversity, outside linkages, distribution of resources/power, and coordination and cooperation - are among the most influential social effects of energy development. With the processes of social organization as a central

focus and the desire to forecast social change caused by energy development as the principal objective, the conceptual model shown in Figure 1-1 was developed as the framework which could be used to construct the BLM social assessment guide.

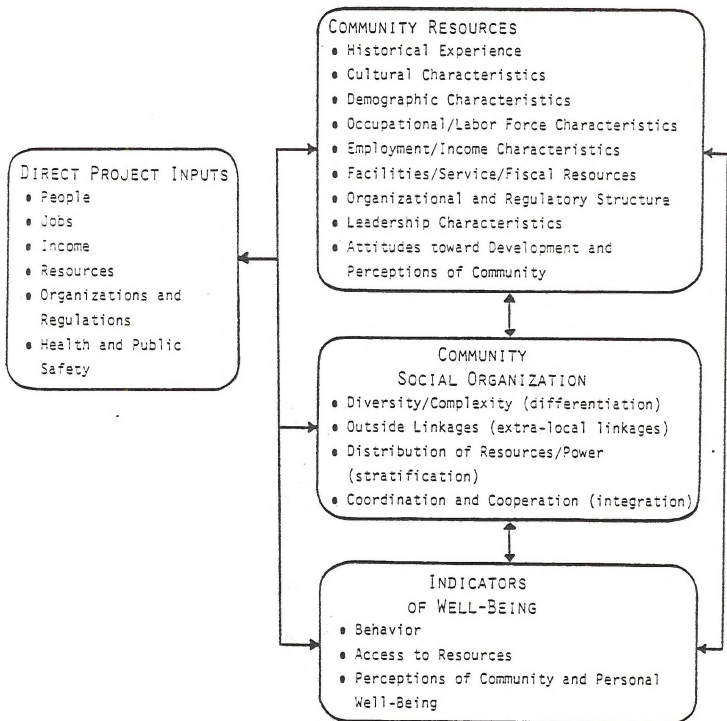
The model, Figure 1-1, has four major components: direct project inputs (projects, leasing decisions, resource management plans), the community's resources, its social organization, and the well-being of individuals in the community and their perception of the community. The normative goal of social assessment is to estimate the effects of exogenous inputs on the well-being of individuals. This involves analysis of the effect of the inputs on the resources available in a community, on the social organization of the community, and finally on the well-being of individuals in the community. It thus specifies the community as an important unit of analysis for the assessment of large-scale projects.

Based on the literature review and the BLM conference results, these four components were thought to incorporate the significant dimensions of social impact assessment. When combined with a theoretical concept of social well-being that addresses the role of the community in serving the social needs of its members, it provides a basis for examining not only the effect of the project upon social organization but also for examining the relationship between social organization and individual well-being.

A principal advantage of the model (Figure 1-1) is that it clarifies the relationship between the social assessment component and the other components of the total assessment process (e.g.,

Figure 1-1

Social Organization Model



economic/demographic, facilities and services, and natural environment). It also makes more explicit the mechanisms by which exogenous inputs modify community resources and social organization, and ultimately, individual well-being -- directly by the primary effect of the inputs, and indirectly by changing interaction patterns among the components.

1.4 Research Design

The research effort consisted of conducting ten comparative community case studies. These were imperative since little secondary data exists for the social variables specified in the model. Further, since the social organization variables have received little attention in western social impact research there was little known about them. Consequently, the case study effort was divided into two phases. The first phase was exploratory in nature and included four communities. More time and effort was allocated to these communities to determine the utility of the model, and to identify major relationships and variables. In the second phase, six more communities were included, but the effort was more focused and fewer resources were expended per community.

As stated above, the analytic framework devised to guide the research, Figure 1-1, dictates that the "community" be included as a unit when assessing the social effects of large-scale projects. This approach suggests that the social meaning of development for members of a social unit, the community, is determined largely by the

interaction of exogenous inputs with the community's resources and its social organization.

Using this approach meant the focus of the research had to be the community itself. It was decided the focus had to be further restricted to rural communities, those with less than 25,000 people. This was important because many of the problems facing BLM are concerned with disruption in rural, western towns. Further, the data had to be mostly primary data collected by the research team in the field, and it was important that the results be as easily generalized as possible. Since in-depth studies of only a few cases could produce misleading results, it was important to include as many cases as possible. Eventually, ten case communities were selected.

To obtain data needed for the four components of the model, two main data sources were identified: unstructured interviews and secondary data available only at the state or local level. The secondary data collected locally were mostly for the inputs and community resource components, and for rates of behaviors. Unstructured interviewing was used for data on social organization processes and the other two major indicators of well-being -- access to resources and perceptions of the community.

Field research teams of two each were used, with ten members of the project team participating. Of these ten members, nine had considerable experience interviewing in energy impacted towns, and rotation of team members among teams was used to minimize interviewer bias. Field instruments and procedures were developed and pretested

by a three-person team before research on the ten communities was initiated.

1.5 Selection of Study Communities

A purposeful sampling of communities in the six-state study region based on the following criteria was decided to be the most effective sampling procedure.

These criteria were:

- 1) The community must have had input from a major energy project between the years 1965 and 1980;
- 2) The energy development impacting the community had to be a mine, a processing plant (or both), or a gas and oilfield development. Employment had to total at least 300 people, since this was approximately the minimum size of projects likely to result from the BLM leasing process. (Although a preference was shown for coal development, other energy activity qualified.);
- 3) The community had to be outside a metropolitan area;
- 4) The energy development had to be past the peak of the construction phase, and preferably, construction had been completed;
- 5) Because of the tremendous differences in legal and organizational structure between the six states, there had to be representation from each state -- preferably two communities from each state; and
- 6) If possible, one of the communities in each state was to be relatively large and one relatively small (compared to the range of community sizes in the six-state area).

The sample:

From the following list of all communities in the six-state region that met these criteria, the communities indicated with an asterisk were tentatively selected for primary field research. (See figure 1-2)

Figures 1-3 and 1-4 are regional maps of the United States which show the six states with the twelve communities selected for study.

Figure 1-2

<u>State</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Town or Community</u>
Colorado	Delta	Cedaredge
		Delta
		Paonia
	Garfield	Carbondale
		Newcastle
		Rifle
	Gunnison	Crested Butte
		Gunnison
		Pitkin
	Jackson	Walden
Montana	Moffat	* Craig
	Rio Blanco	* Meeker
		* Rangely
	Routt	Hayden
	Rosebud	* Ashland
		Birney
		Busby
		Colstrip
		* Decker
		* Forsyth
		Lame Deer
New Mexico	Colfax	Raton
	McKinley	Gallup
		Thoreau
	San Juan	Aztec
		* Blanco
		Bloomfield
		Farmington
	Cibola (formerly Valencia)	Shiprock
		* Grants

<u>State</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Town or Community</u>
North Dakota	McLean	Garrison
		* Underwood
		Washburn
	Mercer	Beulah
		Hazen
Utah	Carbon	* Center
		East Carbon
		* Helper
		Price
		Wellington
Wyoming	Emery	Castle Dale
		Cleveland
		Emery
		Huntington
		Orangeville
	Sevier	* Salina
	Campbell	Gillette
		Wright
	Carbon	Rawlins
		Sinclair
		Wolcott Junction
	Converse	* Douglas
		Glenrock
	Johnson	Buffalo
	Lincoln-Uinta	Evanston
		Kemmerer
	Platte	Glendo
		* Guernsey
		* Wheatland
	Sheridan	Big Horn
		Dayton
		Ranchester
		Sheridan
		Story
	Sweetwater	Green River
		Rock Springs

Figure 1-3

REGIONAL MAP

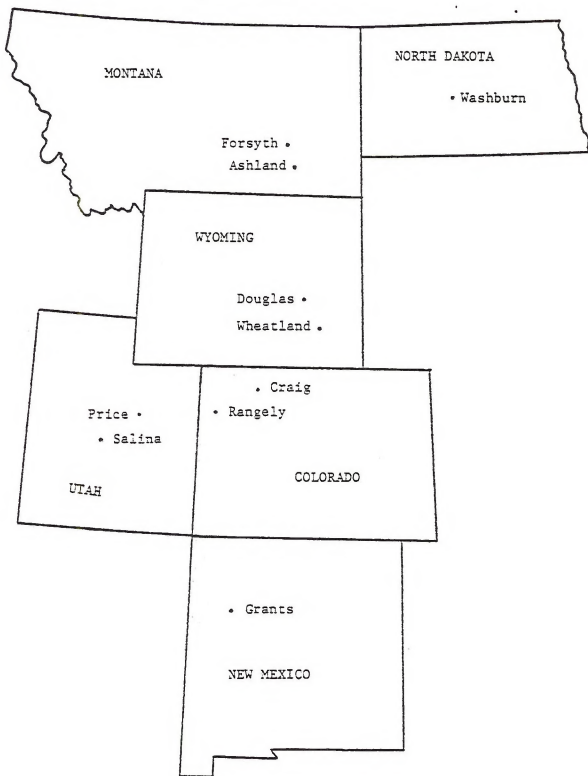


Figure 1-4

REGIONAL MAP

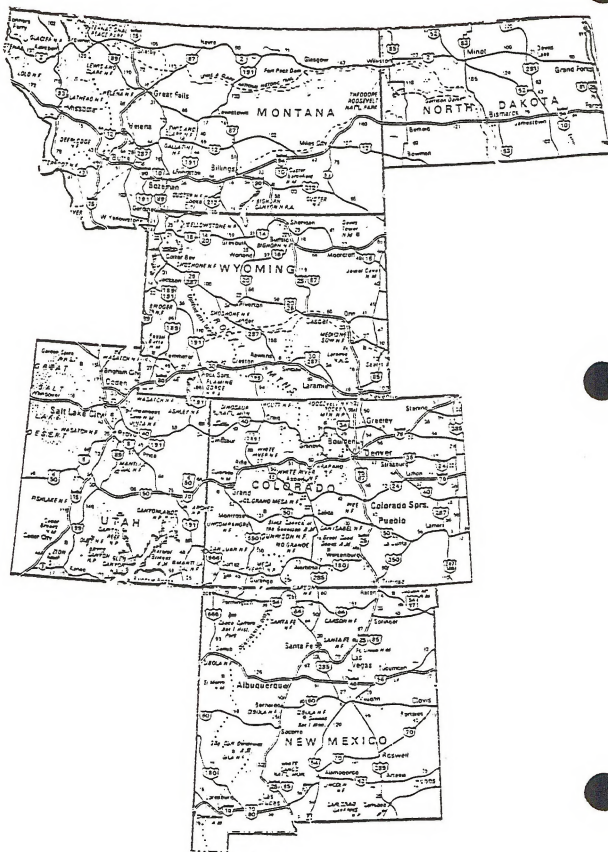


Figure 1-3 shows the location of the study communities, while Figure 1-4 is a more detailed map and includes highways and other cities and towns. Of the twelve communities selected, ten case studies were completed. Some secondary data were collected for Center, North Dakota and Bloomfield, New Mexico, but because of limitations of time and funding, interviews were not conducted for these two communities.

1.6 Field Procedures and Instruments

The field instruments used were semi-structured interview protocol forms which are included in Appendix A. In addition, the field team was given an outline which specified the structure of the community reports. However, because the research was partially exploratory, the structure of the reports was deliberately left flexible to accommodate unexpected observations and findings.

The emphasis in the research was to examine the applicability and veracity of the analytic framework and to determine whether these concepts were workable and effective within the research and data constraints of the assessment process. One of the real questions to be answered by the research was whether the social organization model was operational within Bureau Assessment Conditions.

Field procedures involved several general instructions. MWR and WRC prepared community information packages for each community when possible. This information was given to team members before they visited the community so they would have a knowledge base before they began to interview. Team members were encouraged to schedule the first two or three interviews before going to the community, but were

urged to let their interviews list develop as they worked in the community. For the first four communities, 10 to 16 man-days were allocated for field work; the remaining six communities were allocated 6 to 10 man-days.

The instruments were pretested in Gillette, Wyoming by three senior members of the team. Appropriate revisions were made and the instruments were then retested in Douglas, Wyoming, with another senior member of the team being substituted. This test was satisfactory and the revised instruments were used in the ten study communities. It needs to be stressed, however, that the instruments were not highly structured. Team members, for the most part, were highly experienced in field research and emphasis was placed on acquiring as much information as possible. This was an applied project, not a testing of a well-defined theory, and the emphasis was on increasing the information base.

Interviewers were requested to make detailed notes of interviews; the primary validity of the findings is based on concurrence of the team members. Of the ten field team participants, seven have a Ph.D. in sociology, five had worked on western social impact studies for at least five years, and four had worked in this area for over eight years.

1.7 Limitations and Concepts

Several limitations of the research and the report need to be noted.

First, because there was a high priority on applying the analytic framework to as wide a range of communities as possible, and an interest in utilizing techniques comparable to those that would be employed in the assessment process, the level of effort for research in each community was limited. This, combined with the focus of the research on delineating trends and evaluations of changes in community resources, social organization and social well-being, meant that less effort was expended verifying specific items of information than would have been the case in a more concentrated study of a single community. As a result, readers should be aware that some of the details about the communities may be in error -- for example, dates may not be precise.

Second, in order to rigorously examine the causal relationships between exogenous inputs and community response, the exogenous inputs need to be more clearly specified than this approach allowed. Ideally, an economic/demographic analysis would have been incorporated in the research. However, the specifications of the project and budget and time constraints did not allow a greater economic and demographic effort.

Third, the research reports were developed primarily as working papers to be used by the project team in developing the Summary Research Report and the Guide to Social Assessment. They have been prepared for release because it was felt that they provided valuable information on topics where research results are very scarce. Because of their genesis, the reports do not contain as extensive documentation or referencing as would have been included if they had

been prepared as final, stand alone documents, nor is the prose as polished as it might be.

Nevertheless, these limitations do not necessarily lessen the usefulness of the findings; rather they indicate areas where caution should be exercised in interpreting and applying the results.

1.8 Organization of the Report

This report is organized to correspond with the social organization model, with some accommodation to the need for orientation to the community early-on. The second chapter presents a brief summary of the history of the community and its resources. The third chapter describes the resource development activities in the vicinity of the community, the phases of the growth period, and the disruption and change that occurred in Craig. The last chapter discusses the changes that occurred in the social organization of the community as a result of the energy development in the following sequence: 1) differentiation (complexity/diversity), 2) extra-local linkages, 3) stratification, and 4) integration and personal interaction. The last part of Chapter Four addresses the effects of the energy development on various indicators of social well-being.

Chapter II

Historical Analysis of the Community

2.1 Craig Today

From the low hills cupping the rich valley of the Yampa River one sees Craig - a city of 8,100 in the remote northwestern section of Colorado - as an attractive, apparently prospering community. Columns of white smoke from the western edge of the settled area call attention from virtually anywhere in town to a large, two-unit power plant now in production with a third unit soon to be completed. Beyond these can be seen huge machines, moving slowly across black slits in the sloping range and trucks hauling coal to the power plants and to an off-loading facility by the railroad tracks near the river.

The main road through town as one drives west from Denver, Steamboat Springs, and Hayden introduces the visitor to residues of Craig's recent boom: partially filled trailer parks along the tracks and motels still lined with four-wheel-drive vehicles, many of them pickups with company names painted on the doors. The row of shops on Main Street which is small enough to be a side street, could easily be missed and appears to be unusually quiet for a town of this size. Continuing west, one passes the courthouse (an elegant Victorian building hidden behind a recently added modern facade), a shopping mall, fast-food restaurants, auto-supply shops, and a service station building now used for selling shoes. To the north, up the hill, are

new suburban-type homes on cul-de-sacs and an impressive new high school. Beyond these are the modern motels which mark the entrance to the mine and the power plant roads and Shadow Mountain Village Trailer Park, built by one of the power companies to house workers and now being opened to others.

Interviews with oldtimers and newcomers and a review of data sources reveal that Craig is not only a small city with an array of modern services and connections to the outside but also an old western town with family ties and conflicts still likely to influence the outcomes of public issues. Construction of the power plant and expansion of the mines - all since 1974 - have brought jobs and people, investment opportunities, professional service providers, entrepreneurs, and a few incidences of disruptive behavior to Craig. For a time in the mid-1970's it seemed to observers that Craig might not be able to cope with the prosperity which oldtime leaders had promoted in vain for so many years and which had been brought on suddenly by changes in the economics of energy. More workers and families came than could be accommodated comfortably; merchants and customers viewed one another with suspicion; oldtimers with inside information hastened to make judicious investments and accused one another of using questionable business practices; schools, hospitals, and other services were overloaded; leaders struggled, for the first time, to learn the rules by which a community could negotiate effectively with large corporations. The crisis lessened as adaptive changes were made. Slowly the new patterns and new people came to be

integrated, more or less, with the old ways and previous residents into the community.

Craig, today, can be described as a complex social field with at least three intersecting forces, each of which has a prominent effect in patterns of daily life and in the issues which arise in public affairs. One of these forces is a result of the history of Craig as a ranching/service center in a remote and economically desolate region. A second force in the present field is the recent history of energy development. The third force is the even more recent emergence of a dynamic interaction process in local public affairs, resulting from the interplay of the local community with trends in and agencies of the larger society.

This analysis of Craig examines how the changes which have recently occurred have affected the infrastructure, extra-local linkages, and the individual well-being of community members. The evidence for this report was collected in Craig during October, 1981 through interviews of a range of oldtimer and newcomer informants and from data compiled from public records and other sources. The evidence is summarized following a straightforward, topical outline. Historical patterns which contributed to the main features of community life in Craig prior to the recent energy boom are reviewed briefly. The sequence of events by which energy development occurred and the apparent social responses to these events are described. Issues which arose in Craig, including many of those discussed in earlier reports of the process of coping with energy-related growth in

small towns, are described in detail. Following these descriptions, the evidence is examined from a broad sociological perspective within which the meaning of various changes might be understood. Finally, the normative issue of how the changes have contributed to the well-being and/or to the distress of the community population is discussed.

2.2 Early History of Craig and Northwestern Colorado

The land which now comprises Moffat County, of which Craig is the county seat (and only urban center), was taken violently from its native residents by the United States Army in 1879 and settled shortly thereafter by mercantile speculators (one of whom was named Craig). The founders of the Craig Company hoped to make a fortune by selling plots of land to businessmen whom they assumed would be attracted by prospects of service trade to the ranchers and farmers moving into the secured region. They failed; the winters were harsh, the trade was meager, and most of the people who responded to advertisements of great opportunity left after a short stay. The founders and a few others persisted, however, and the town of Craig was established in 1889; in 1892 a hotel was erected. The town was incorporated in 1908.

Violent confrontations occurred during the 1890's in northwestern Colorado between cattlemen and homesteaders and between cattlemen and sheepmen, all of whom wanted to use public lands. The latter conflict, known locally as "the sheep wars", required intervention by the state militia to restore the peace.

A series of small booms, none of which met their promise, contributed to some growth in Craig over the first 50 years of its existence. By 1900 the town had been established as the principal trade center for a fairly large region. Hay and grain crops of the region, particularly of the Yampa Valley, contributed to expansion of the local cattle industry, but the cattle had to be moved east to Denver by long drives. The "Moffat Road", a railroad projected to connect Denver with Salt Lake City (via a tunnel through the Rockies), reached Craig around 1900 but went no further. This line, of course, stimulated the local economy in that cattle, hay, grain, and wool could be exported profitably; but the line became a branch, ending at Craig, rather than a main east-west route. Coal and oil were mined early in the region; and Craig received national publicity when President Theodore Roosevelt stopped and was photographed there during a hunting trip. But with limited transportation and relatively weak markets, the coal and oil resources were largely untapped during this period, and tourism contributed only modestly to the economy of the region.

Moffat County was formed in 1911, and Craig was made temporary county seat. (Craig had been in competition with Steamboat Springs, Hayden, and Lay to be named seat of Routt County, replacing Hahn's Peak which had been virtually destroyed by a fire in 1910). In 1914 Craig became the permanent county seat of Moffat County.

The population of Craig, and that of Moffat County, grew slowly in the 1920's and 1930's, partly as a result of the movement of young

people out of the Great Plains to escape the disastrous conditions of the Dustbowl drought and the Great Depression. Dryland farming experiments and other homesteading ventures in northwestern Colorado attempted by migrants from the Plains generally failed, however, and net growth of population over these decades was meager.

2.3 Craig as a Community, 1940-1970

The period from the beginning of World War II through the early 1970's was one of relative stability in the population and economy of Craig and Moffat County. Small coal mining operations employed few workers and had marginal production. The cattle and wool industries dominated the local economy, and ranchers dominated county government. A small meat-packing plant and several other small agricultural service firms, retail stores, several colorful bars, a school, churches, a library, a Chamber of Commerce, a few small motels serving the occasional tourist, a quiet small-town atmosphere, and an array of informal social networks, arranged roughly by social rank and occupational involvement of families, comprised the social structure of Craig through the 1960's.

Following World War II and through the 1950's, the Chamber of Commerce and other groups more or less affiliated with the Chamber sponsored a series of largely unsuccessful programs to promote economic growth. Committees were sent to the East and to the West to solicit industrial firms (a maker of women's underwear, a candy factory) which might consider locating a plant in Craig. A grouping

of professional and business leaders bought extensive mineral rights to the land around Craig and sold these to a mining company in hopes that a mining boom for the community would be stimulated. These projects were unsuccessful.

The county supervisors through this era were ranchers; and the Craig City Council was composed of business and professional leaders. Some of the wealthiest people in the county - mostly ranchers - played no apparent roles in public affairs.

Immediately prior to the period of growth in the 1970's, the local population was relatively homogeneous in wealth and life-style. Extremes in wealth - the very rich and the very poor - were rare, and people at different levels had more or less similar patterns of dress, consumption, and recreation. Differentiation of social networks occurred along traditional lines of family and kinship status.

Family life, in the typical pattern, was characterized by male dominance and by authoritarian control of children by elders. According to the respondents (and as observed in previous research), discipline of children was firm and, in many cases, physically brutal.

Drinking to excess was reported by some oldtimers to have been common throughout the history of Craig. One said:

Hell, those boys used to come in off the range and just shut the place down for a day or two. Everybody would go home and let'em have the town for the weekend. They would fall out of the windows drunk, and shoot up the ceilings. If it got really bad, the sheriff would go over and calm them down. But most of the time, we'd just wait. Monday, the rancher would come in and load them up to go back to work.

Another reported:

There was a lot of quiet, heavy drinking by some very prominent people. There still is. Used to be the deputy would simply follow them home to make sure they got there alright. Now we pull them over and they get a ticket or get locked up; and you better believe they yell about it.

For many of the people who owned ranches in surrounding areas, Craig was home for part of the year, mostly in the winters, with other seasons spent in distant ranch houses. For these and for those who lived in town through the entire year, the community was a comfortable, generally peaceful one for conducting routines in social and economic life. Conflicts between ranchers and local business and professional leaders, such as described in some previous studies of small western communities, appear to have been minor in Craig in the pre-growth period. County government was controlled by the ranchers, and town government and most civic affairs were dominated by the business and professional leaders. But most residents of the town and the county were not actively involved in politics or civic affairs but were engaged in more or less established patterns of work, church activity, family life, visiting, shopping, and outdoor recreation (mostly fishing and hunting).

Prior to the period of rapid energy development, Craig appears to have been a fairly typical town of the region. It was small and economically stable, but because schemes to promote its growth did not materialize, it did not fulfill its economic potential. And though it provided a peaceful life for most residents, Craig offered few opportunities for young people and few services. The image of early

Craig, which can be gleaned from reading old newspapers and records and talking with long-time residents, fits neither of the extreme stereotypes which are often suggested in descriptions of the small western town. It was not, on the one hand, a folk village of Gemeinschaft, with traditions and values centered in primary relationships among families who had been together over many generations. Craig was founded on the prospects of a boom which had not materialized. Many of its residents in 1970 were children of newcomers who had been attracted by one or another of its abortive boom prospects. On the other hand, Craig also did not fit the stereotype of an individualistic, hard-drinking, violent cow town. It was a small town like many others on the periphery of trends in modern society. Few of its residents were prosperous and few were poor. Most people lived quietly, resigned to a perception of limited prospects for future growth and development.

In retrospect of events described in the next chapter, there appears to have been, at the onset of the period of rapid energy development, a widely held attitude of ambivalence among community leaders about the desirability of growth. A balance of sorts had been reached between ambitions and opportunities, and there was a sense that this was viewed by many as a good place to live but one with severe deficits, especially in economic opportunities for young people. Young people were said to be knowledgeable about opportunities in larger cities. Many residents wanted more than could be attained locally in the way of health care, shopping opportunities,

and commercial recreation. Craig, said one informant, "was a pleasant enough place to be" but one which "left a lot to be desired". Energy development in the 1970's brought new problems to Craig, but it also brought resources to deal with some old problems.

Chapter III

Chronology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes major events and community issues which arose in Craig during the process of its recent energy development. As background, the principal factors which caused this development, the major companies involved, and the general chronology of development are described. Specific events and issues and local responses to these, in each of three phases of the energy development process, are described.

3.2 Background

The demand for electricity and the demand for coal and other fossil fuels for producing electricity has increased substantially over recent decades. During the early 1970's, international events caused energy prices to increase drastically. These trends, particularly the latter, stimulated rapid development of energy resources in many western communities. The immediate demand for electric power which contributed directly to Craig's growth came largely from western Colorado. This non-metropolitan, essentially rural region began growing in population in the 1960's, and energy demand grew even more rapidly than the population.

Plans for construction of four large electric generating units near Craig - the Yampa Project - became known to the community in 1972. Construction and management of the project would be led by the

Colorado-Ute Electrical Association, a consortium of eleven rural cooperatives which had been a partner in the Hayden Project in neighboring Routt County. (The two units of the Hayden Project, with net generating capacity of 436 megawatts, were completed in 1965 and 1975, respectively.) Within two to five years, construction began on the Yampa Project which would become the largest coal-fired electric generating station in Colorado and one of the largest in the United States.

The first two units of the Yampa Project, which were to be constructed simultaneously (with 800 megawatts capacity), would be owned jointly by Colorado-Ute and three other utility companies. These units would be fueled by soft coal from a strip mine (the Trapper Mine) to be operated by Utah International, Inc. (under a 35-year contract). Utah International, one of the nation's largest coal companies, had been operating in Craig since early 1972. (In 1982 Utah International, Inc. merged with the General Electric Corporation.) The third unit (400 megawatts), to be owned entirely by Colorado-Ute, would be supplied by the Colowyo Coal Company from its mine located midway between Craig and Meeker (in the southeastern portion of Moffat County).

These plans and the construction which followed stimulated considerable investment in new and expanded energy development projects in the Craig area. Construction work on the Yampa Project began in 1974. By the time the first two units were completed (in 1979 and 1980, respectively - with Unit 2 completed first) and work on the third had begun (in 1980), a large number of energy projects had

been initiated or proposed in Moffat County. The Trapper Mine (operated by Utah International) began production in 1977. Colowyo Coal expanded its operation to supply 4.3 million tons of coal to power plants in Texas and Colorado (including 2 million tons per year to Unit 3 of the Yampa Project). The Empire Energy Corporation (affiliated with Amoco) expanded its underground and surface mines in the southern portion of the county. Energy Fuels/Energy West, which had been operating in Routt County since the early 1970's (supplying the Hayden generating units), announced plans to develop a mine near Craig in the future. Utah International developed plans for an additional strip mine and an underground mine. Northern Coal Company, operating in Rio Blanco County to the south of Craig, expanded production and sent its coal to Craig to be loaded at the Wilson loadout facility. The W.R. Grace Company, a partner with Hanna Mining Company in the Colowyo Coal project, constructed a railroad line from the Colowyo mine to Craig and announced plans to consider building a coal-slurry pipeline and a synthetic fuels plant in the area. Union Carbide, which had been reprocessing uranium tailings on a small scale near Maybelle (30 miles west of Craig) from 1956 to 1963, reopened its operation in 1975. The Colorado River Water Conservation District developed a proposal for two dams and reservoirs and two hydroelectric power plants on the Yampa River in an area 25 to 50 miles west of Craig. Numerous smaller projects were announced and undertaken.

The effects of energy development on community life in Craig occurred in three chronological phases. The first, 1972 through early 1976, was a pre-growth period in which there was much discussion of

the growth to come and some planning for it. The energy companies, particularly Colorado-Ute, prepared for the construction start and attempted to advise the community on needed expansions of services and facilities to accommodate the large number of workers' families and secondary service personnel likely to move into the area over the next several years. Many community residents were skeptical; they knew that planned projects could be cancelled abruptly for any of a number of reasons, and many of them had experienced abortive developments in the past. Others doubted that the companies would provide accurate projections; rather, they believed that the projections would be exaggerated greatly so as to stimulate modest, but adequate, preparations by the community. Some planning and change occurred in the community, however, during this pre-growth period. Ground breaking at the Yampa Project site took place in 1974, and the number of workers on the site increased slowly over the next year.

The second phase of development, 1976-78, was a period of rapid growth and a time of crisis in several aspects of community life. The population of Moffat County, which had been 6,500 in 1970, stood at 7,200 in 1976. But in the early months of 1976, workers began to arrive in large numbers. The county population grew to 10,400 by 1977 and to 13,100 by 1980. In 1978, during peak construction of the first two units, 1,852 persons were working at the site (with an annual payroll of \$36 million). Craig experienced a housing shortage; for awhile people were living in recreational vehicles parked on roadsides or in tents. Upheavals occurred in several local agencies. Conflicts occurred between workers and merchants. A school bond issue was

proposed and defeated (twice). Two county commissioners were recalled by voters. Public officials and company officials struggled with problems of providing and financing services. New business establishments opened and a shopping mall was built. Services were expanded. Arrangements were made by leaders, and by people generally, to deal with most of the problems. In brief, an adaptation by the community to the new systems of social and economic life was worked out.

The third phase, 1978-81, was a leveling period. The population continued to grow (Craig grew from 4,200 in 1970 to 8,100 in 1980), but the main basis of growth - construction on the Yampa Project - was reduced. The first units were completed in 1979 and 1980, and there was a delay in beginning work on the third unit. (It is unknown at this time whether the fourth unit will be built.) As construction employment declined after 1978 and few new developments occurred, leaders and others who had invested in various ventures during the growth period (shops, housing developments, motels) began to be concerned about the future of the community's economic base. Service agencies which had expanded during the growth period began to face prospects of cutbacks in funding. The nation's economic recession began to be felt in Craig. Changes stimulated by the growth continued to occur in a number of areas of community life. Most notably, a shift occurred in the basis of power and influence in local public affairs.

Community life in Craig was altered in many ways by these developments, but many of the characteristics of local social

organization which were apparent before the period of growth continued to have prominent effects throughout the process summarized above. Persistence and change were parallel themes in local responses to energy development in each of these phases of development. The interplay of these themes can be seen clearly in the descriptions, which follow below, of specific events and issues in each phase.

3.3 Preparation and Denial, 1972-75

Three previous losses to Craig were mentioned by several respondents as critical elements in explaining local responses to announcements that construction would begin soon on the Yampa Project. One was an oil refinery which had been proposed for Craig, but had been built instead near Casper, Wyoming. A second was the Hayden Project, which some leaders had hoped would be the Craig Project. The third was a major uranium mill which was expected to be built near Maybelle but was built near Rifle, in Rio Blanco County, instead. These losses contributed to skepticism about announcements of planned developments. One retired official reported that, in his opinion, the politicians of Moffat County had a habit of having large development projects "pulled right out from under them, so to speak". Other informants suggested additional reasons for the initial reactions of skepticism and for other actions (and non-actions) in the pre-growth phase.

3.3.1 Local Government

Planning for growth was initiated in both county and city

governments during the pre-growth period. The county commissioners in the early 1970's (three ranchers) had established general land use plans and zoning regulations prior to the announcement of plans for the Yampa Project, partly in response to the prospects for growth but also in response to a movement in the state legislature to require all counties to have planning boards and offices. (A bill with this effect was passed in the 1973-74 session). Ranchers in the county were said by respondents to have been generally in favor of energy development but to have been generally opposed to planning, especially to planning by professional planners. (One respondent observed that the commissioners felt that planning was their own role; and, thus, that when they were required to hire a planner, they tried to find someone whose views and policies would reflect their own.) The land area of Moffat County was zoned 99 percent agricultural, and virtually all energy development projects (as well as new housing and commercial developments) would occur on agricultural land. Mining would have relatively little effect on use of the land for grazing, and many ranchers would benefit directly from the sale or lease of mineral rights. The commissioners also secured funds from state and federal sources during the pre-growth period to upgrade facilities and equipment contrary to the common perception among respondents that the commissioners, along with other oldtime leaders, were reticent to seek or accept outside assistance in deference to the traditional emphasis on self-sufficiency and independence in rural western culture.

City planning also occurred during this period, initially through a committee appointed by the city council. The first zoning

regulations for the city were worked out in 1972, partly in response to perceived growth prospects. The council at that time was composed of business leaders who had been in the community for many years, and fiscal planning was influenced significantly by the conservative attitudes of the city clerk. A sum of about \$1 million had accumulated in the treasury as a result of conservative spending policies, and action to improve water and sewer systems had been undertaken in recent years in response to previous boom prospects. Thus, some resources for planning for growth and managing its impacts were available, but there was a pattern of reluctance to use these resources. The announcement of the Yampa Project, and requests by energy company officials (especially Colorado-Ute and Utah International) for joint planning by city, county, and companies produced considerable pressure for change in the orientation and practices of city officials. As various issues arose, this pressure increased. Three council members, including the mayor, were not re-elected to office, and the new mayor (elected by the council in 1975) had been recognized as favoring increased investment in preparations for growth. (The new mayor was a small businessman in his early 30's who had grown up in Craig and had first gotten involved in public affairs as a member of the city planning committee.)

3.2.2 Company Initiatives

Community relations personnel of the major companies to be involved in the energy development projects (Colorado-Ute, Utah International, and Colowyo Coal) presented detailed estimates of

employment trends and service needs to local officials and to the community at large beginning in 1972 and announced, over the following years of the pre-growth period, various plans to assist in meeting those needs. The latter included both actions planned by the companies and actions which would require cooperative work by local government (county and city) and the companies. "We had trouble", said one official, "because we couldn't get the city and county to work together".

Early in 1975 the county commissioners put a moratorium on issuance of county special use permits, so as to prevent development from proceeding until plans for managing the growth could be worked out. An "Energy Impact Committee" was formed by representatives of four companies (Colorado-Ute, Utah International, Colowyo Coal, and Empire Coal), one member each from county and city governments, and one citizen at large. This group surveyed needed facilities, equipment, financing possibilities, and strategies of cooperative action. Recommendations were made to the commissioners and to the city council. One respondent commented that by working with the energy companies, whose contacts with major equipment suppliers could be used, government officials were able to save money on the purchase of some items.

Company officials, according to respondents, perceived that local officials had little experience which would allow them to manage the impacts effectively and that local business people had little knowledge of potential financial arrangements which could be made to assure that capital would be available to finance housing and other

investments. One company (Colowyo) offered to pay an energy manager who would be hired by the Energy Impact Committee, but county and city officials could not agree to support this plan. Later the same company made arrangements with a developer from Denver to provide housing to accommodate the people who would be attracted to the community by service employment associated with the construction. The company lost about \$500,000, according to a respondent, when the developer failed to follow through. (Another developer was found in 1978 to complete the project, resulting in a new subdivision east of town.) Another company (Utah International) made plans for financing the development of a subdivision (33 homes were essentially constructed by local contractors) and purchased the KOA trailer park in Craig, increasing it from 26 to 69 spaces. Colorado-Ute, meanwhile, constructed the Shadow Mountain Village trailer park, to the west of town, which would provide housing for about three-fourths of the construction workers who would be employed more or less for the duration of the project. Company representatives, according to one respondent, also attempted to encourage local investors to take advantage of opportunities which would arise as demand for services and housing increased.

3.3.3 Cooperation and Negotiation

Company officials and county and city officials agreed, at least by the time the growth began (1975), that the major problems to be resolved would be housing and financing for public services. Company action, it was assumed by several observers, would result in more or

less adequate housing being available for the majority of construction workers. Housing for others attracted by the growth, however, would be a serious problem. Colorado-Ute, it was perceived, could not, as an REA (rural electric association), provide funds to assure that housing for persons other than their employees would be available, and the coal companies in the area had little desire (according to officials) to invest in the housing market, except as required to respond to some emergency. Local government could do little in the area (according to officials) other than to expedite the approval of subdivision plans and to invest in public water and sewer system expansion.

The new council and mayor (elected in 1975) and officials of Colorado-Ute were able to work together on at least one major project to facilitate private sector investment in housing development. Water and sewer lines were to be run from the city to Shadow Mountain Village, with pipes supplied by Colorado-Ute. Extra large pipes were used, much larger than would be necessary to provide for the trailer park alone. Company officials and city officials cited this as an example of cooperation. Other informants cited it as a major victory for the mayor. According to one local official, the only way Colorado-Ute could justify using the larger pipes (at an expense estimated at several million dollars) would be for the city to demand that they do so as a condition for joining the city's utility system; thus, said that official, "We stated it as a demand, that's all." In any case, the large lines could support private development of the area between the city and the trailer park (about two miles, along

which substantial housing and commercial development subsequently occurred).

The availability of investment capital in Craig prior to the beginning of the period of growth (and up to the present, according to some respondents) was limited. Local financial institutions were not accustomed to participating in major development programs and had lending practices more suited to the stable, agricultural patterns of the past. Financial planners from the Utah International headquarters on the West Coast met with bankers in Denver to "figure out how to get some money pumped into the private housing market of Craig". According to a respondent, a guarantee of about \$1 million in loan money that would be delivered through institutions in Craig was negotiated; but this was never used because interest rates fell sharply at about the same time, making more money available through conventional sources.

The financing of needed public services and facilities was recognized by government officials and others as a crucial problem for the short run. As projects would be completed and go onto the tax rolls, this problem would become less severe. But the need for expanded services would precede the availability of the increased tax revenue. The principal company involved in the development, Colorado-Ute, was believed by local leaders to have been constrained from making advance tax payments (i.e., "up-front money") by virtue of its status as an REA. Money from the state's Oil Shale Trust Fund was acquired by the commissioners (about \$1.5 to \$2.0 million a year for five or six years) about the time the period of growth began. Utah

International, according to a company official, made an advance payment of \$500,000 in mineral royalties at about that time. Energy companies also contributed to a project in which county officials tried to recruit physicians to the community. Thus, some money was available for expanding services at the beginning of the growth period but not enough, according to some local officials. Other problems of public finance would arise later (and are described below).

One official's opinion was that the tax money would be needed more critically later and would not be available then if it had been prepaid.

3.3.4 Private Investments

Stories told by several respondents indicate that some local business people took advantage of the immediate pre-growth period to identify private investment opportunities. In some cases, this was said to have occurred privately while the individuals involved were complaining publicly about increased traffic and increased demands for public services; and in a few cases, it was said to have occurred among people who were able to acquire inside information through contacts with public officials. On one hand, some residents complained about being inconvenienced, but on the other hand, they were seeking out financial investments for personal benefit. Another told of tension in a family when one member bought a tract of land the day before the location of a new road was announced as passing through that tract. Most reports, however, were about private deals by persons who were not involved in public affairs. One respondent told

about a man who bought several properties, one a downtown building, in the pre-growth period and became wealthy as a result of the growth: "He wasn't any smarter than the rest of us, he was just in the right place at the right time."

Private investment was constrained, of course, by the difficulty of acquiring loans - which was due to the combination of high interest rates, conservative local lending policies--and the limited willingness of outside institutions to invest in a development which, even in 1975, could fall far short of its plans. One respondent told of being unable, even with a partner who put up a debt-free ranch worth \$1 million as collateral, to secure a loan of \$250,000 in either Craig or Denver to help finance a proposed motel.

3.3.5 Citizen Responses

Respondents gave a variety of comments about how people in the community other than the government leaders reacted to the news that development was about to occur. Uncertainty and disbelief were reported as having been the most widespread responses. Rural, western culture, explained one respondent, emphasizes dealing with things as they are experienced. "People have to own a problem", he explained, and added, "You can't do that until you experience it." Other respondents, particularly those in leadership positions, reported that the prospects for growth were welcomed by most people in the community, even by those who would not be likely to benefit from it. Officials in some service agencies expressed resentment that government officials would not accept the fact that growth was

beginning. "They were still denying that it would happen when the workers came flooding in," said one.

3.4 Rapid Growth, 1976-78

Craig as a community was prepared in some ways but seriously unprepared in others for the growth which occurred as employment increased on the Yampa Project site and as the mines moved toward peak production.

3.4.1 The Housing Shortage

Available housing in Craig filled quickly as workers began to arrive in large numbers in the winter of 1975-76. Most of the workers with long-term employment arrangements on the construction site were able to find housing in Shadow Mountain Village or in the town. Transient workers, and those seeking work, tended to occupy more temporary housing in the old KOA campground and in quickly constructed private campgrounds. Workers and families attracted by prospects of jobs in services augmented the numbers. Many of the workers commuted during the week from Steamboat Springs or Denver. A number of these simply parked campers and other recreational vehicles along the highways leading into Craig. A few pitched tents in clearings along the river. One respondent told of a friend, a young woman, who lived with her husband and two small children in a tent for eight months, leaving only when the weather became too cold for the children in late fall, 1977. There were no reports, however, of major problems of

sanitation or of a major public health threat in these temporary quarters.

3.4.2 Merchants and Workers

"The merchants treated us like dirt", said a construction worker, a middle-aged man who had arrived early in the growth period and lived in Shadow Mountain Village; and, he added, "After seven years, they still do." The most frequent complaint among the newcomers was that "cash-only" became the policy in the local retail trade.

The merchants of Craig prior to the growth period were mostly small-town shopkeepers, not aggressive marketers. One respondent, who had worked for several firms in Craig since 1976 and had finally bought a store of his own, described what he said was a pattern in the businesses in Craig when the growth was beginning: "They were not well-managed; they did not wish to incur risk and invest money in obtaining more adequate inventories or more complete stocks of goods and services to service the new people coming in." The old store he bought, he said, had 600 outstanding accounts. The oldtime merchants, he said, were upset about new competition, such as from the shopping mall, but had little interest in modernizing to remain competitive. Descriptions by several respondents suggest that when the growth began in Craig many of the merchants were more or less satisfied with a small-town trade. A number of the merchants, however, profited greatly from increased business.

Some of the oldtimers, particularly ranchers, were said also to have been upset by the merchants during the growth period. This was because of a change from a pattern of more or less casual credit to one where identity had to be proven before checks would be accepted and where cash was clearly preferred.

Workers and other newcomers also reported difficulties in getting loans to buy property. One worker, who complained about being asked to pay "points" and interest above the going rate for a home mortgage, said that he was told that the banks had plenty of business and he could simply take their terms or go elsewhere. (He went to Denver and got a loan at a much lower rate).

A company official, reflecting on the problems associated with change, named the treatment of employees by town merchants as one of the major problems. He said, "They wanted the growth and the money that came from the growth, but really did not want to accept the people who came with the growth at all." As a consequence of bitter memories of those first few years (before new stores began to open), he said, the employees of his company, including permanent staff, continue to do 60 to 70 percent of their shopping outside Craig.

3.4.3 A Public Catharsis

A respondent who had described a pattern of denial that the growth would actually occur commented on a period of "public catharsis" which ended that pattern and, in his opinion, cleared the air for constructive work on community problems. This occurred, he said, in mid-1976, with an "explosion" of letters to the editor of the

local newspaper. Newcomers wrote letters lambasting the community for exploiting them, for not accepting them, and for not having planned adequately for meeting their needs. Oldtime residents wrote bitter letters in reply, saying, in effect, to the newcomers, "Go home, you lousy people." These letters, he said, provided a much-needed outlet. Hostility was ventilated but, perhaps most importantly, it caused people to stop denying that growth was occurring and to recognize that people were indeed living in tents and slipshod housing and being exploited and that something had to be done to get things in order. After that, he said, by early 1977, when the growth slowed somewhat, emotions cooled and people began to work together to solve problems.

3.4.4 Service Demands and Agency Changes

During the period of rapid growth, demands for many services increased. Changes occurred in the provision of several services, notably in police services, social services (i.e., welfare), mental health services, education, and services for the elderly (especially housing). Whether significant changes in the rate with which problems requiring service occurred will be discussed in a later section.

Police services were reorganized in 1976 by the creation of a separate city police department. Prior to that time, the county sheriff had supervised all local police, though the city council had contributed funds for salaries of some officers and for equipment and operations. Specific events prior to this change were described by two respondents who held official positions. The city council had paid for a radar gun to be used by the sheriff's office in enforcing

county speed laws; soon after, a member of the council was stopped for speeding by a deputy, using the new equipment. Ostensibly, this incident may have contributed to a decision at the next council meeting to create a new city police department. A chief was hired but was fired in less than a year. A patrolman was then promoted to chief but resigned after a short period because of an injury. Another patrolman was promoted but resigned over a conflict with staff members. The current chief, a Craig native who had become a police detective in Los Angeles, was hired in 1979.

A change in leadership of the county social services department occurred in 1977. According to respondents, the increased caseload which accompanied the growth and the change in the major types of cases of the agency (a reduction in the predominance of general welfare and AFDC cases and an increase in demand for emergency assistance and for investigation of complaints of child neglect and abuse) created tensions among staff members and between the agency and county officials. The director resigned, and a staff member (a protective services worker who had been in Craig since 1970, having been attracted from the East by recreational opportunities near Craig) was appointed. The agency experienced problems during the growth period, according to respondents, for three principal reasons. One was that the state, which provides a major part of agency funding and determines most policies, has no provision for increasing staff in advance of a need. Instead, said a respondent, "You have to show that you are already overloaded before you can ask for additional staff." A second problem was that of finding qualified staff and housing for

them in Craig when new positions were opened. Many social workers who wrote back in response to advertisements were said to have "expressed disbelief that anyone would want to work in a place like Craig," and others were put off by the large gap between salaries of social workers and costs of housing in the county. A former social worker in the local realty business was said to have helped deal with the latter problem. The third problem had to do with the relationship of the agency to the county government. The agency, according to a respondent, is, in effect, jointly administered by the county and the state, and neither identifies it as their own. The ranchers, who generally have controlled county government, were also said by some respondents to have little interest in the kinds of problems dealt with by the agency and were not particularly interested in supporting programs in human services agencies.

Mental health services were first made available to the county in the 1960's (with the initiation of federal support for community mental health programs) through the county public health nurse. In 1968, a psychiatric nurse in Hayden began offering services to a multi-county region which included Moffat County. A center in Craig was established by the county commissioners in July, 1972. The current director, a counseling psychologist (who is also a part-time minister and council member in 1981), arrived in 1976 and initiated a community outreach program. "This was an office center until 1976", said a respondent, "one where people came to sit and wait for service." The outreach program involved advertising the availability of service through newspaper and radio, meeting with agency workers,

organizing a referral network among ministers and others, and generally increasing the visibility of the center in the community. This expanded program was made possible by a grant to the commissioners from the state's Oil Shale Trust Fund. Additional state support was received later through energy impact assistance programs. Energy companies in the area have provided direct funding under contracts for service rendered by the center to their employees.

School enrollment increased rapidly during the growth period. Earlier improvements to the school plant had made it possible for the first stage of growth to be absorbed, but by mid-1976 it was apparent to many observers that a new high school was needed. A bond issue for school construction was put to the voters and was defeated twice before finally being approved in 1978. Several reasons were given by respondents for the two defeats. The most frequent response was that "the school board had not done their homework." One respondent dismissed the importance of the two defeats, saying, "It has always taken three times, at least, to get anything done in Craig." Two respondents concurred on more specific reasons. One of the bond issues, they said, called for a program in which hair styling would be provided free to some elderly women as part of a vocational education course; this, they said, was objected to by local beauticians because of potential competition to their businesses. The other bond issue was said to be objectional to some ranchers because it provided for a rodeo team. "I have plenty of calves for them to rope at home and don't want them hanging around the school to do it" one rancher was reported to have said at a public hearing. Other respondents

suggested that the defeats had been partially the result of aggressive organization of opposition by a right-wing group called the "Posse Comitados". This group was said to be committed to the idea that taxes violate fundamental rights of individuals and to have been involved in a number of past legal actions against the federal government. One respondent indicated that the ranchers engineered the defeats mainly to show that they still had the power to do so, and that having made this point, they allowed it to go through the third time.

A federally supported housing project for the elderly was developed during the growth period, mainly, according to respondents, as a result of the special interest and leadership of one of the county commissioners. Older people, many of whom lived in large houses, were encouraged to move into the new facility for their own benefit (social life, increased police protection, special programs, etc.) and to free housing in town so as to ease the housing shortage. According to the respondents, most of the elderly rejected these appeals. One said, "The senior citizens began moving into the new housing only when they, as individuals, began to feel the crunch. They would not respond to any kind of appeal on behalf of the community to free up housing spaces." The elderly were the group most frequently named in response to the question of who suffered most from the growth. Those who moved into the special housing were frequently mentioned as exceptions to this. "They love it," said one respondent, "but those who have remained in their own homes have suffered from

isolation; from higher prices, and from seeing major changes in the way of life to which they had been accustomed."

The need for additional community recreation services was recognized by a number of leaders early in the period of growth, according to respondents. The head of one agency described a difference between two types of newcomers that made this need an important one. Some of the newcomers were from rural areas such as Moffat County or were strongly attracted to the opportunities for hunting, fishing, and other outdoor activities. For these, as for most oldtimers, Craig offered excellent access to all the recreation that was needed. Another grouping, probably the majority of newcomers, in the opinion of the respondent, had no interest in these available amenities but desperately needed outlets for energy and frustration through active recreation.

The one major attempt to provide for expanded recreation services during the growth period resulted, however, in a controversey. The commissioners, two of whom were elected for the first time in 1977, purchased a parcel of land on the edge of town as the site for a proposed fairgrounds. Critics argued that this would not provide the kind of services needed and would serve only a selected group of citizens. A recall petition was circulated, seeking removal of two commissioners. Leadership in circulating this petition was said by respondents to have been provided by a rancher who had not been re-elected as a commissioner in 1977. The petition was submitted to the county but was rejected because of "improper signatures". The rejection decision was made by an official who had a long-standing

family friendship with some of those who had circulated the petition. The petition was recirculated and then accepted. The two commissioners were then recalled by the voters. In the special election which followed, another rancher and a city businessman were elected as new commissioners. This was a major departure from the long-standing pattern of having only ranchers as commissioners.

Several respondents indicated that the recall had little to do with recreation or with growth. Rather, they suggested that the defeated commissioner and a few of his fellow ranchers were being vindictive. Other respondents saw the event in a broader perspective. County government had been left to the ranchers in previous years, they observed, because the economic base of the county had been agricultural. Leaders in the city had generally felt, according to these reports, that the ranchers should be allowed to do what was necessary through county government to improve the agricultural economy and, thus, the economy of the entire area. With the beginning of real development of energy resources, the community's economic base was changing. When the commissioners bought the land for a new fairgrounds, the forces of change in the basis of power of the ranchers were brought to the fore, along with the long-standing potential for conflict among the ranchers themselves. The election of a town businessman was said to have been of great significance by those who gave this interpretation to the recall. One respondent noted that more and more of the new residents of Craig have been taking great interest in county politics in recent years.

3.4.5 Stratification and Integration of Newcomers

Newcomers during the period of rapid growth were stratified among themselves, and in the responses of community residents, into several groups. An official distinction was made, for example, by Colorado-Ute in assigning construction workers to spaces in the Shadow Mountain Village trailer park. Relatively permanent workers were assigned to one area and transient workers to another. Within the community, many people drew distinctions according to the craft of the workers - dozens of different craft groupings were used in the various stages of construction - and between construction workers and coal miners. The workers were also distinguished by their backgrounds, especially by whether they had lived in rural, western communities in the past and by their interest in being involved in local churches and other groups.

The most transient workers were referred to as "boomers" by some respondents. These were people without skill or experience in energy development who were attracted to Craig by the hope of acquiring high-paying, low-skilled jobs--few, if any, of which were actually available. Respondents indicated that these were the people most likely to get into trouble or into conflict with oldtimers; but that they were few in number and tended not to stay in the community for long.

Many of the workers who remained on the job for several years were middle-aged, middle-income and working class family people who joined churches and recreation clubs, coached Little League baseball teams, and took keen interest in the schools, in local government, and

in community life. The more transient workers tended not to become involved in local organizations and to associate mainly with others in their own crafts. Many of the latter were younger adults, mostly with young families, and with interests and lifestyles which were in contrast to those of the more settled workers and to those which had been typical of Craig before the period of growth.

The growth period was a time in which workers and families from various backgrounds and in various strata had to adjust, more or less, to one another and to the existing community culture. Interviews of workers revealed the relative separateness of clusters. One couple, who has lived in Shadow Mountain Village for six years, reported that their social life was entirely taken up with church activities and with family visits among church members. They expressed concern about how the management allowed some of the more transient residents of the trailer park to ignore the upkeep of their sites but reported that they hadn't had much contact at all with those residents.

Staff members of the county social services department reported that complaints of child neglect increased as the workers arrived in 1976 and 1977, especially in the large trailer park. Most of these complaints turned out to be spurious, according to respondents. "Neighbors were getting back at others who they didn't like," according to one respondent. In some cases, children were being treated in ways which were common in one setting but were foreign and offensive to persons with a different perspective.

Few of the oldtimers who were interviewed appeared to have had much personal contact with the newcomers during the growth period,

except with those whom they encountered in public or who became involved in their churches. Rather, the more typical response was that "there were just so many of them." Traffic increased. Public places were crowded. As one respondent said, "The tempo of the community speeded up." Few cases of overt conflict between oldtimers and newcomers, other than those between merchants and customers, were recalled, however. The oldtimer respondents generally recalled that most of the newcomers appeared to be solid hardworking people, with only a few who were "poorly organized" or "troublesome". The impression given by several interviews was that various groups in the community maintained distance - social and psychological, if not physical - among themselves during the period of rapid growth.

3.5 The Leveling Phase, 1978-81

As noted above, construction employment peaked in 1978 and declined over the next three years. Construction of the third unit began in 1980, but the peak of construction on that unit would not come for two or three years and would be at a lower level than in 1978 when two units were under construction. Mine production increased during this period, but generally with employment of a relatively permanent work force in contrast to the large but temporary employment of workers during mine construction. Though the population continued to grow, primarily through expanded employment in services, the critical period of massive in-migration was over. Issues and events during this phase represented, in many ways, elaborations of changes

which began in the rapid growth phase and integration of old and new patterns in the emerging community.

3.5.1 The New Economic Climate

Transition from a community life based on agriculture to one based on energy development involves a number of changes in routines and ultimately in social structure. A major consequence of this transition involves increased adaptation to and dependence upon growth. "Shiftwork" and "layoffs" were new experiences for the people of Craig, at least for most of the oldtimers. Relatively few oldtimers were involved directly in adjusting to that, but most people in the community had to adjust in indirect, secondary ways. Shiftwork in construction and in the mines was apparently more easily adapted to than were layoffs (and the larger economic problem of decline from the employment peak).

Many new businesses were established in Craig in the latter part of the rapid growth period and in the years that followed. A number of these, and the service agencies which expanded, came, in time, to be faced with the prospects of decline. A number of the new businesses, according to respondents, failed early because of inexperience of their owners, and others were overextended.

The housing shortage became, within a few years, a housing surplus. During the period when interviews were conducted (October, 1981), between 300 and 400 houses were said to be for sale in Craig, and little if any new construction was underway. According to several informants, there were potential buyers for most of these houses - one

respondent said that no rental property was available on the day of our interview; mortgage money was in limited supply and interest rates were high. One oldtimer respondent accused local lending agencies (including the old bank, the new bank, and the new savings and loan association) of charging unfair "points" on loans to newcomers.

Workers began moving out of the trailer parks following the construction peak, and the park owner (Colorado-Ute) announced plans to turn the park over to a private firm. One of the workers who was interviewed expressed concern about whether the trailer he owned could be sold, with the declining demand. "I'll probably have to move it when I leave," he said.

Signs supporting the proposed dam construction project near Craig were on display in most businesses and government offices by late 1981, and leaders and officials talked with cautious optimism about hopes for the proposed synfuels plant, the coal-slurry pipeline, various railroad projects, and increased markets for coal and other natural resources.

Economic and population growth have been stimulated in the post-growth period by the attraction to Craig of an upper middle-class group, mainly professionals, working in the expanded service sector and enjoying (as reported by respondents from this group) the new mixture of "the old and the new" in the community - the "old" being a small town atmosphere, and the "new" being modern facilities, cultural amenities and linkage to the outside which has increased as a result of energy development. The Chamber of Commerce emphasizes this admixture in its promotional brochures.

3.5.2 Local Government Finance

Financing of government services in Moffat County and Craig continued to be viewed as a problem in the period following rapid growth, though the flow of tax revenue from development projects has made a number of improvements possible. The problem derives in large part, according to informants, from provisions of state law which limit the extent to which energy projects undertaken by public utilities can be taxed. In Colorado, expenditures by a public taxing unit cannot increase by more than seven percent annually unless revenue came from certain developments which are treated as exceptions. Energy projects, in the usual case, would qualify as exceptions, and expenditures exceeding the seven percent maximum increase could be made. The respondents indicated, however, that utility companies, led by the Public Service Company of Colorado, had convinced the legislature to have new development by public utilities defined as "old property" for purposes of taxation. With this definition, which was passed, the exception to the seven percent rule would not apply. Thus, as a development is completed and goes onto the tax rolls, it must be taxed at a mill levy which will produce no more revenue for the taxing unit, in total, than would support a seven percent increase in expenditures.

Even with this limitation, however, mill levies in the county dropped by at least half during the 1970's, and in some taxing districts the rate was only about one-third in 1980 of what it had been in 1970. Without the limitation, according to one official, "the county would be so rich it could afford any service that they wanted."

The increases which have occurred, plus payments received from the Oil Shale Trust Fund and from various state and federal grants, have made possible a number of projects, including substantial contributions to the recently expanded hospital, and have allowed the commissioners to minimize bonded indebtedness. City government finance has benefitted in a similar manner, with expanded services in several departments and the building of a new city hall (opened in 1978). Facilities in both the city hall and the courthouse (which was refurbished during the rapid growth period) are modern, as is the equipment and furniture in local government offices.

3.5.3 Expanded, Modern Services

Several oldtimer respondents expressed the opinion that Craig has benefitted greatly from the expansion of services, though in some cases with problems in adapting to the new patterns and practices associated with the increased professionalization of service delivery. Several respondents noted that problems needing professional attention (such as in counseling and welfare services) were apparent in Craig before the growth period but were not prevalent or recognized to a degree which would justify setting up a professional service program. With the growth, according to these informants, the numbers of cases in these categories increased to the point that the needed services could be justified. In most cases, the respondents who made this point emphasized the additional point that no increase had occurred, in their opinions, in the rates of the problems.

The professionalization of police services in Craig, begun in 1978, was praised by a number of newcomer and oldtimer respondents but was also noted as a source of some controversy by these and by other respondents. "The new chief is providing firm, fair law enforcement", was the comment of a construction worker. The problem, according to respondents, is that the police, under policies established by the chief, do not distinguish between oldtimers and newcomers or among status groups in enforcing the laws. "We don't need a Los Angeles police agency in Craig, Colorado", said one critic. An oldtimer reported a recent incident in which several prominent residents were arrested for playing what they called a "prank" on a new businessman in town (the victim filed charges against them). In another incident, sons of prominent families accused local police of "roughing them up" because of behavior which in the past, they said, would have received only mild, if any, response from police. These complaints resulted in a public hearing before the council, at the end of which, according to respondents, the chief was given a strong vote of confidence.

The Craig police, since 1978, have placed major emphasis on problems associated with driving under the influence of alcohol and speeding. The pattern in the past, according to informants, had been for drunk driving to be tolerated, more or less, especially when the drivers were well-known, local citizens. The new chief announced that it would be tolerated by no one. Drunk driving arrests increased by 400 percent in the first year of the policy, according to respondents. "Some people complained", said the chief, "but we are saving lives and we plan to keep doing it." He estimated that 90 percent of all

arrests in Craig are alcohol-related. Tickets for speeding have been especially irritating for some oldtimers. Others, however, commented on the increased traffic in Craig in recent years and the danger of allowing old patterns to continue. One respondent described the old pattern as one in which cars "darted in and out and around one another" in the downtown area. It was necessary, according to that respondent, to go to one-way streets in the downtown and to enforce traffic laws because of the greatly increased volume of traffic.

The expansion of health services was also noted by respondents as both a source of pride and as a cause of controversey in the community. Prior to the period of rapid growth, there were four physicians in Craig, two of whom were osteopaths. One of the latter, in particular, had (and continues to have) a highly loyal caseload in his family practice. With the growth, the hospital has tripled in size and a number of young medical specialists have joined the staff. The latter, according to respondents, have been questioning the competency of the older doctors to perform certain procedures. "In the old days, there would have been no questions: the young doctor would have been forced out; but now they are being heard", said an informant. A sign in the front yard of one of the older residential areas proclaimed (in October, 1981): "We love and need Dr. _____." The doctor named was the osteopath mentioned above.

Several other service agencies experienced growth in staff size and programs in the years following the peak of construction employment. The mental health center increased to four professional positions, though, as noted below, this apparently was not in response

to an increase in client demand (as asserted in one previous study of Craig). An alcohol and drug treatment center was created, and alcohol and drug education programs were initiated in the new high school (the latter following an incident in which a sports team was suspended for drinking beer on a school trip). Within the alcohol treatment program, some conflict was reported (as is common in many communities) between medical and religious approaches to dealing with alcohol abuse. The social services department of county government grew rapidly, reaching thirteen professional positions by 1981. A "crisis intervention unit" involving cooperative work by agencies and police was organized. A council of representatives of service agencies and voluntary organizations was formed, with monthly luncheons, for communications.

At the time of interviewing, it appeared that county support for the drug and alcohol programs and for the crisis intervention program would be withdrawn and support for the social services department would be sharply reduced. According to some informants, this was due to reduced funding from federal sources and local perception of reduced need for the programs. Other respondents suggested that this was consistent with a long-term pattern of disinterest in human services by county commissioners. Funding from local sources for the mental health center appeared to be more or less secure, partly because of commitments from the energy companies, at least for the next year.

3.5.4 Changes in Public Leadership

As noted earlier, a city businessman was elected to the county commission following the recall of two commissioners by the voters. Several respondents commented that there was increased interest in county government by town residents, particularly newcomers; and some argued that final passage of the school bond issue might be interpreted as a sign of reduced influence of the ranchers. Changes which might be interpreted as a parallel shift occurred in city government. A virtually new city council was elected in 1981, composed for the first time by people referred to, by respondents, as "newcomers." These were business and professional people who had been in Craig for less than five years. (Only one was employed by an energy company). The only oldtimer who stood for re-election was defeated; three others, including the mayor, did not run for re-election. The turnout was light (953 voters) but the result was a subject of much comment.

Several respondents suggested that the traditional leaders - the ranchers and oldtime business and professional leaders - were backing away from local politics, perhaps temporarily. "The ranchers still have the ability to stop things, but they don't seem to be motivated to push anything right now", said one respondent. The view was also expressed that the older leaders might be stepping back to "give the newcomers enough rope to hang themselves." The former mayor suggested that, as in his own case, the retiring council members had individual reasons for not running again. "I announced four years ago that I would not run. It was just time for a change." he said. He and other

informants also suggested that politics had gotten a dirty name during the growth period and that some older residents simply didn't want to be involved in government for that reason. One respondent said that this occurred because a newspaper writer, who had been in the community only briefly, had written, almost every day, that local officials were crooks. They were not, said the respondent, because with all the public scrutiny they had been under since the growth had started, they could not have gotten away with anything. But the image was believed to have caused some leaders to shy away from public office.

The predominant view among respondents was that the base of power in the community was changing, away from traditional sources, and becoming more diverse. The recent election of the woman to the city council was cited as one example of the latter, and the increased political participation of newcomers in community affairs was cited as another.

3.5.5 Integration of Newcomers

The change in patterns of in-migration following the construction peak contributed to several changes in newcomer-oldtimer relations. Some newcomers in 1976 had become relative oldtimers by 1979 or 1980, if they had remained in the community. Many of these came to be involved in local groups, churches, politics, etc. They came to be known to oldtimers. The workers who remained after the peak tended, in many cases (though others would come to work on Yampa Unit 3), to be permanent in their local job arrangements - in operating the power

plant or the mines, for example. Further, many of the migrants after the peak were in middle-class and upper middle-class occupations -- professionals and managers of firms. Many of the firms in local business were not affiliates or branches of national corporations. These changes reduced some of the conditions which might have restricted newcomer integration into the community during the period of rapid growth.

One respondent gave the opinion that the location of the new high school on the hill overlooking the entire valley stimulated a kind of visual reintegration of Shadow Mountain Village into the community: "The students looking out over the valley could see that Craig and Shadow Mountain Village are parts of one place." A new Methodist Church nearby would have a similar effect, this respondent added. It was added that officials of the school and church had complained to the police about vandalism by "the Shadow Mountain Village kids", but that no one really knew where the vandals lived.

The plan by Colorado-Ute to divest itself of the large trailer park was viewed as an integrative move by some respondents. The park had been viewed by some townspeople, said a respondent, as a good means of segregating people with "undesirable behavior" from the rest of the community, and this had been known and bitterly resented by many of the residents of the park.

In recent years, newcomer organizations, formed mainly by middle-class migrants to the town but supported by several prominent oldtimer families, have attempted to establish contacts with people, particularly women, in the trailer park. "They generally are

reluctant to come out", said one of the leaders, "but we think it would be good, and know it is in the cases where they respond."

3.6 Disruption and Change

The proposition that rapid growth causes disorganization in energy development communities has been widely discussed in the literature. Crime rates, rates of mental disorder, family problems, and other disruptions are often said to increase dramatically because of the stresses of dealing with rapid change, especially in small, western towns. The materials collected in this study are inadequate, for various technical reasons, to support precise statements about trends in rates of these disruptions. Secondary data on Craig and Moffat County and information from interviews with officials and residents, however, give insight into some general trends.

3.6.1 Crime

The police chief of Craig was asked whether the crime rate had increased with growth. His reply was that a state official has said so, but that he had no idea where his data came from - not from the Craig police.

Agency records were not maintained systematically in Craig before 1976, and according to the chief, the 1976 records might be of questionable accuracy (because of duplication between county and city records). The records he had, however, showed the following numbers of total major crimes (Part I offenses - murder, rape assault, robbery, burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft) by year:

1976 - 474
 1977 - 482
 1978 - 477
 1979 - 641

These totals differ somewhat from figures acquired from the Colorado Bureau of Investigation, though the general trend is the same in both sources. Rates of major crimes per 1,000 population, as reported to federal Uniform Crime Report (FBI), are shown as follows for Craig (1977-80), Moffat County, including Craig, (1970-80) and Colorado (1970-80):

Total Part I Crimes Per 1,000 Residents

<u>Year</u>	<u>Craig</u>	<u>Moffat County</u>	<u>Colorado</u>
1970		21.9	52.4
1971		22.1	54.0
1972		26.6	53.5
1973		36.8	51.6
1974		47.2	58.0
1975		26.4	62.5
1976		87.5	65.3
1977	72.6	**	67.8
1978	67.4	54.2	68.5
1979	75.7	63.9	72.0
1980	81.9	69.4	78.3

** No report was made in 1977.

The most dramatic change shown in these data is the increase in 1976 in the county. Inspection of detailed data (not shown) reveals that that change was accounted for by a change in the incidence of larceny (theft) from 160 cases in 1975 to 500 cases in 1976. The incidences of other offenses increased slightly from 1975, which had been a considerably lower year than 1974 in all categories. Two changes which might have influenced this change in larceny reports were 1)

reorganization of county and city police forces in 1976 and 2) federal change in the definition of larceny in 1974 which may or may not have been implemented by the Moffat County agency in 1975, but likely was by 1976 or in later years. The absence of a report for 1977 on Moffat County also might cast doubt on the validity of the 1976 rate, particularly given the lower rates in subsequent years.

The possibility that larcenies increased dramatically at the beginning of the growth period in 1976 cannot be dismissed, but with the changes in reporting practices noted above, it cannot be concluded that this occurred. Taking the Part I total for Craig in 1976 (474 cases), with qualifications by the chief and a 1976 population estimate of 6,000, yields an estimated rate of 79.0, which (with the qualifications noted) would be more or less consistent with the trend shown between 1976 and subsequent years in the county totals; however, in subsequent years the city rate, but not the total county rate, has tended to approximate (generally to exceed slightly) the state rate. Precision in measurement of trends is also not possible because estimates of population growth are involved.

The evidence is that rates of major crime were greater in the late 1970's than in the earlier 1970's, but changes in reporting practices make it impossible to conclude that the trend is as dramatic as implied by the available figures.¹

"We do not have the kinds of crime you find in wide-open towns," said the chief, referring to street prostitution and organized drug traffic. Two informants, both local officials, also reported that a recent "undercover" study by an FBI agent had revealed no significant

drug traffic in Craig. Instead, the chief maintained, major crimes are rare in Craig, and increased arrests have resulted almost entirely from increased enforcement activities.

3.6.2 Mental Disorder

The director and recorder in the mental health center were asked whether the caseload of their agency had increased in association with energy development and whether the trend in caseloads since the agency was established could be taken to indicate increased mental disorder in the community. Records were not maintained consistently before 1976, the year the present recording system was adopted (and the year in which the community outreach program was initiated). Prior to 1976, many contacts were not recorded and others were recorded sloppily. The caseload in 1976 tripled, in the director's opinion, because of the outreach program. Also, beginning that year, the practice was adopted of maintaining a case file on each member of the family when a client who was being treated had a problem which required family counseling. The number of such cases in subsequent years (whether declining, increasing, or stable) could not be estimated from the records. Thus, the number of persons actually receiving treatment cannot be determined precisely from the number of cases recorded in the client ledger.

The ledger contains case numbers of people with whom contact was made and date of contact. A case number remains with an individual through all subsequent contacts which are recorded. Thus, the number

of new cases in a year is equal to the number of new case numbers assigned during that year. These figures for 1976-80 are:

1976 - 218
1977 - 214
1978 - 280
1979 - 260
1980 - 215

The cases are drawn from a three-county area - Routt, Moffat, and Rio Blanco - though most, according to the director, come from Craig. Admission rates calculated first with total populations of the three counties, then with only the Moffat County population as base are as follows (per 1,000 estimated residents):

<u>Year</u>	<u>Three-County</u>	<u>Moffat County</u>
1976	9.4	30.2
1977	8.2	20.6
1978	10.4	26.4
1979	8.6	21.3
1980	6.5	16.4

These figures indicate, generally, that first admissions (to the center caseload) decreased from 1976 to 1977, increased the next year (1978), and decreased sharply thereafter, to a level in 1980 that was considerably below the 1976 level.

The only increase occurred during the peak construction year (1978): thus there was no clear pattern of an association with growth over the five years. (A much larger increase, of course, accompanied the establishment of the program in its current form - from 143 cases in 1974 and 114 cases in 1975 - but data for years before the current program was established are not comparable to data for subsequent years.)

Should caseload data such as these be taken to indicate trends in local mental health? Or do they, instead, merely record one aspect of

the recent history of delivery of a community service? The director was asked whether, in his opinion, there had been a real increase in mental illness or in psychodynamic disorders or psychological distress symptoms in the community as a consequence of energy development or accompanying energy development. Among oldtimers, he said, there were some cases of people who needed services before the growth who could only get them after the program was established, more or less simultaneously with growth. The increased acceptance of the center in the community had reduced the stigma of seeking treatment, and thus, the caseload had grown in part without reflecting an increase in incidence. On the other hand, he said, there had been an increase in "transitional problems" among oldtimers, specifically, problems of adapting to crowding, stress, and change in lifestyle. The latter, he said, did not appear to be psychiatric problems, but rather "problems in living". These problems had been "fairly extensive" among oldtimers, but he said that there was no evidence of an increase in psychiatric problems among oldtimers.

In the opinion of the center director, the likelihood of increased psychiatric problems among newcomers was even lower than among oldtimers. People who move around, he said, and are accustomed to diversity are generally better able to cope with life than are those who never move. On the other hand, he said, small towns lack outlets where people can deal with the frustration which they might feel and with the stresses that they might experience as a result of moving. Lacking the anonymity of a larger city, one is likely to be recognized (e.g., by police) if frustration is expressed through some

type of unacceptable public behavior. Without such outlets, frustrations are not likely to be worked off easily.

As to the overall effect of changes in Craig on mental health of the community, his opinion was that there are clear advantages "to being on the cutting edge" - to facing challenge in which there are opportunities, as well as possibilities of suffering. In his view, he said, "A life without struggle is potentially less supportive of mental health than one in which there is struggle." The local view when he came to Craig (in 1976) was that "this community was dying and it was just a matter of time until there would be sagebrush blowing in the streets." Now the community is perceived as having dealt with some problems and, as a consequence, it was perceived as being able "to handle anything" - this, he said, is a more healthy atmosphere than the situation before the growth began.

The two local groups who have suffered most, he said, are the elderly - whose values were challenged and who have been confronted with increased noise and commotion - and the "people who cling dearly to old prejudices and have low levels of tolerance for other people." The poor, he said, tend to be much more adaptive than the middle-class. "Middle-class people who came here looking for utopia because it's a "boom world" soon discover that prices are so high that both mom and pop have to work, that their lifestyle has to be altered." This, he said, was particularly a source of stress among secondary service providers, such as teachers.

3.6.3 Drinking Problems

No reliable indicators of the extent of alcohol abuse or alcoholism are available to trace any change in those habits which might have been related to energy development in Craig. Several oldtimers described what they saw in Craig as a long-time pattern of fairly heavy drinking on the part of many townspeople; this was perceived by more respondents to have been similar before the growth period to patterns of heavy alcohol consumption in most small western towns. Recreation tends to be "home-made" said one observer, explaining this pattern. Officials observed that drinking behavior had not changed much because of growth, but that with more people in town it might be more visible than before. Workers, said one respondent, especially the younger ones, have little to do other than to go to Cosgriff's Bar (in a local motel) in the evenings. With a change in social customs (perceived as a national trend), one respondent noted that more young women can now be seen "bar-hopping" with their husbands. A downtown businessman observed, "Now and then I'll see someone staggering out of the bar at 8:00 a.m., but likely as not, it's a shepherd, just as it was twenty years ago." Another observed that alcoholism has always been high in western Colorado, but that the change in police responses to public drunkenness had changed greatly in recent years. A lot of oldtimers, he said, had trouble with that change, but newcomers generally accepted the relatively severe police reactions to drunk driving and public drunkenness. One newcomer, however, in a middle-class professional family, expressed surprise that there was so little drinking at parties and social

events, compared to patterns observed in the suburban area of a larger city (in Colorado) where she had lived before moving to Craig. Drinking was said to be a "problem" among high school students but was observed, by several respondents, to be part of the national trend rather than something distinctive to Craig or to energy development. "Alcohol is the drug of choice in youth culture," said one observer who had been involved in establishing an alcohol education program in the local schools.

3.6.4 Family Disruptions

Several respondents suggested that the divorce rate had increased in Craig in recent years, but added that the increase does not exceed the national average, in their opinions. Precise data on this trend for the 1970's are not available. Crude divorce rates (divorce per 1,000 residents) for Moffat County and Colorado (from state vital statistics records) show a greater increase in the former; but this must be viewed with caution because the crude divorce rate does not take account of the proportion of the population which is married, and thus, is at risk to divorce. It is likely (following trends noted in many studies) that a larger proportion of those moving into Craig in recent years than of oldtimers, are in young families. Young families are much more likely to experience divorce than are older families. Thus, without data on marital status and age composition of the population, the crude divorce rate can seriously distort trend data on marital instability. The crude divorce rates are as follows:

Divorces Per 1,000 Residents

<u>Year</u>	<u>Moffat County</u>	<u>Colorado</u>
1970	1.4	4.7
1971	5.2	5.2
1972	5.9	5.4
1973	4.3	5.8
1974	6.2	5.8
1975	6.7	6.1
1976	10.7	6.7
1977	7.6	7.8
1978	11.2	7.0
1979	8.9	6.1
1980	8.5	6.4

These suggest that divorces increased in incidence in Moffat County more or less simultaneously with energy development, but without additional data, the effect of changes in the distributions of marital status and age on this increase cannot be estimated.

Child neglect and child abuse are the aspects of family disruption believed by some informants to have increased most dramatically in Craig and Moffat County. No data are available to measure this trend, however. Data would be needed on numbers of children and families by year and on numbers of these in which neglect or abuse of children occurred. Neither of these is available.

In response to a request for data on child abuse and neglect, a supervisor in the social services department said that no tabulations of complaints or of investigations are made by the department. "We get about four cases a week, but you would have to go through the files of each social worker to get information on them," the respondent said. The agency director said that when the growth started, the department began receiving increased complaints of child

abuse and neglect. Many of these - perhaps most - she said, turned out to be spurious. Then when the work force finally got here, in 1977, she said, "We began to see increased cases of physical abuse of children. There were several cases of babies that were so badly beaten that we had to fly them to Denver for emergency care." Then a third phase occurred, she said, somewhat later, after the growth had settled. There was, she said, an increase in the incidence of child neglect complaints arising as children were left in their homes while their parents went to the bars. This, she said, was due to the changed lifestyles among young families in recent years. A third pattern has developed in the past few months, she said, one in which about 65 percent of the agency's caseload has come to involve reports of incest. This, she said, is a totally new pattern for Craig. If there were incest in the county in previous years, she said, it was not called to the attention of human services agencies to the level that it is now being reported.

The validity of reports (estimated in some previous studies at about one in five cases - i.e., proportion of reports of child abuse/neglect which are confirmed through official investigation and the accuracy of local perceptions of the volume and rates of incidence cannot be evaluated with available data.

One respondent who lived in Shadow Mountain Village said that he wasn't aware of any cases of child abuse but had observed a pattern in which some young mothers locked their children out of their trailers to play during the daytime. The children would get quite dirty and sometimes get into mischief. Occasionally, some other adults, who

often took a lot of pride in keeping a neat trailer site, would get very upset about this. The proportion of complaints which might have occurred in such circumstances, of course, is unknown.

3.7 Responses to Being Studied

"The people of Craig are sick and tired of being studied", we were told in one of our first interviews. The school, in particular, was said to have established a policy of not cooperating in any additional studies, even those which might be conducted by local people. Several respondents expressed resentment that Craig had been described in previous reports as a "crummy impact town". One respondent, an oldtimer, expressed concern about a study of school children which had been completed over a year earlier but with no feedback to the community. Another described an attempt by some local people to compile a complete record through group interviews which could be handed to future researchers, thus making further study unnecessary. (The report of this effort, which had been conducted a year earlier, was not available from the research agency in Denver which was to compile the research; but the local supervisor of the interviewing described the findings to us.) Several respondents indicated that drinking, crime, mental breakdown, and family disruption had been seriously exaggerated in Craig. Notes from an interview with a construction worker who had been in Craig for several years illustrate a common response:

This gentleman was somewhat hostile when we began the interview. It was clear that he did not wish to talk with me. Finally, I asked him directly what was bothering him, and he told me that he did not wish to be talking to any

researcher who was going to write more of that kind of garbage. At that point I informed him that we were trying to take a very objective look at the situation; that I was not one of the authors of one of those boom town type papers, and that I realized that there might be distortion in some of what had been written. After that, he relaxed somewhat and agreed to continue the interview.

Two previous studies, in particular, seemed to be of concern to several respondents. One was the study in the schools, mentioned above. Another was a study of women in boom towns. An informant - a woman - said, referring to the latter, "The interviewer sat there and asked me all these questions that didn't make any sense. I couldn't identify with anything she was saying. It appeared that she already had decided what to write and I couldn't say anything to alter her story."

Chapter IV

Interpretation

4.1 Perspective

A sociological interpretation of the effects of energy development on social organization in Craig must be framed cautiously in light of the limited available data from objective, quantitative sources on changes in various aspects of community life. The interview data give insight into the perspectives of many of the actors in the energy development process, but these must be taken mainly as records of opinions about the change. Similarly, biases of the interviewers must be considered, despite the attention given to maintaining objectivity and to covering a wide variety of points of view. The record of remarks by some respondents--energy company representatives, politicians, heads of agencies, and others--seem to reflect underlying personal interests which must be considered in weighing the evidence. At most, the results of an investigation such as this can suggest questions and hypotheses which might be examined with more precise data than are now available.

With these cautions noted, however, the evidence from Craig reported here is in many ways more comprehensive and reliable than that frequently used in impact assessments and projections, especially in the attention given to the process of change. The material summarized in previous chapters leaves much to be questioned concerning details of this process but provides a clear record of at least the main features of social change in Craig. The interpretation

offered here refers to this broad outline, rather than to the details which are more clearly described above. After presenting the interpretation, attention will then be given to specific questions for future research suggested by some of the more detailed notes.

An interpretation might be only descriptive and consist of an abstract conceptualization of "larger patterns and processes" suggested by the evidence. Such a descriptive conceptualization could be useful in building a more adequate understanding of recurring patterns of change which accompany energy development and of the general structure--i.e., of relationships among components--of these patterns and processes. A normative assessment of the social effects of energy development (which is the focus of the larger study of which this is part) requires additional steps. Specifically, criteria for judging the "goodness" or "badness" of the effects of change must be selected, ideally (but rarely, in practice) on the basis of widely held values in society, and applied. This latter is a tricky business. Who is to decide what is good? The community? Who is the community? Craig cannot be described at any point in its history as a single, coherent unit with internally consistent values and dispositions. Rather, Craig, like any other community in this society, is an area within which multiple perspectives and "multiple public interests" intersect. Change in some areas might be viewed as good from some perspectives and bad from others. Yet some assessment must be made, if the objective of informing people in advance about the likely (or even the possible) consequences of an energy development project is to be met.

In response to these challenges a two-fold strategy is used. First the process of change is conceptualized and then a selected normative concept of social well-being is used to assess the positive and negative benefits. The former is done by emphasizing four components of social organization which have been included in many theoretical discussions of the community. These are:

- a. Differentiation (diversity/complexity)--the process by which specialized social structures and mechanisms are anticipated within a local society (or community) to be used collectively in meeting the common daily needs of local residents.
- b. Extra-Local Linkages (outside linkages)--the process by which institutions, groups, and behaviors in a local area are interrelated with those in the larger society.
- c. Stratification (distribution of resources/power)--the process by which access to available resources for meeting needs is differentially distributed among groupings and individuals within a population.
- d. Integration (coordination/cooperation)--the process by which a holistic unity is created, maintained, and changed within a community composed (even in the most stable of settings) of diverse forces.

These are descriptive concepts of social organization. There is no objective basis for placing absolute values on states of social organization which might be described on either dimension. The normative task is undertaken by selecting values and then by evaluating the effects of changes in the above on the degree to which

these values are met. The values used here to delineate social well-being consequences of change are:

- a. Adequacy of economic resources for meeting needs.
- b. Adequacy of services and facilities relative to desires of the population.
- c. Equality of access of individuals and groups to the available resources (economic resources, services, etc.) for meeting needs.
- d. Social cohesion (unity, a high level of integration, coordination, mutual support, collective action capability) among the various components of community life.

4.2 The Change in Craig: Descriptive Conceptualization

4.2.1 Differentiation (Diversity/Complexity)

Energy development contributed directly and substantially to increased differentiation of social organization in Craig. The economy became more diversified. The population became much larger (doubling over the decade of the 1970's) and more heterogeneous--in age structure, occupations, lifestyles, values, and cultural and geographic backgrounds, etc. Specialized groups were created to express diverse interests. Agencies and programs became more specialized and leadership roles became more professional and more highly focused. The power structure became more diverse and interactive. Issues needing public attention came to arise more frequently. Firms became more numerous and competitive. Rules and

enforcement of rules governing behavior in public affairs became more formal and objective (i.e., impersonal).

4.2.2 Extra-Local Linkages (Outside Linkages)

Connections between Craig and the outside changed in some ways and increased in many others, as the agricultural export economy was superseded in importance by the energy development and energy export economies. An additional change has occurred more recently as services and interests have continued to differentiate, with increased connections between local activities and practices (e.g., of professionals and of firm managers) and those in larger centers. Outside firms have come to play major roles in the local economy. The flow of external funds (and accompanying demands and restrictions) into Craig through government channels and in the private sector has increased greatly. Newcomers have brought ties to places, people, firms, and cultural traditions into Craig, expanding such linkages as were brought in by the former newcomers who settled the town and by those who migrated to it in earlier years. News of the outside, e.g. of the national and international economies, has become more of a topic of conversation and a focus in local decision making than formerly was the case.

4.2.3 Stratification (Distribution of Resources/Power)

The stratification structure of Craig has been altered most clearly by the diversification of interests and groups. There is no longer a single coherent hierarchy with ranchers and oldtime business

dominant at the top and a few marginal wage workers at the bottom. Now there are multiple, overlapping hierarchies of status, differentiated by occupation, length of stay in the community, and lifestyle preferences. People and groups are evaluated and ranked by one another according to multiple standards the perspectives of those involved. Traditional status assignments have become less binding, though vestiges of "old" ways can still be found. More opportunities have arisen in roles for women and young people.

4.2.4 Integration (Coordination/Cooperation)

The older bases of interpretation, rooted mainly it appears in lack of opportunities for change and expressed in a stable, though rigid order, has been substantially altered. A more emergent, interactive basis of integration has appeared, one which is less bounded by the immediate locality but is manifested in the involvement of diverse groups in distinctively local public affairs. A phase of social separation of various groups during the early part of the period of rapid growth has given way to a dynamic process of intergroup and interpersonal negotiation in the creation of a new sense of community. A sense of common identity and pride has emerged among many segments of the population, not so much on the basis of strong affective connections among the groupings as in the common perception that Craig has more or less successfully coped with a major event--energy development--and is a more exciting, progressive place to be as a consequence.

4.3 Social Well-Being in Craig: Normative Assessment

4.3.1 Economic Resources

Per capita income increased more rapidly in Moffat County during the 1970's (\$3,079 in 1970 to \$9,148 in 1978) than in Colorado as a whole (\$3,855 to \$8,114). Investment capital, tax revenues, and personal income increased. Jobs became more plentiful, especially jobs with relatively high wages. The cost of goods and services also increased but not as much as did the aggregate base of economic opportunities and resources. Multiplier effects and investment opportunities resulted in a more dynamic economy, though a somewhat less stable one. Diversification of the export base has contributed to greater long-term security, however, than did the more limited, though relatively stable, agricultural base.

4.3.2 Adequacy of Services

Services are more adequate now in Craig than they were before the process of energy development occurred. There is much greater variety in retail services. Services provided by local government are of higher quality now than they have ever been. Streets, utilities, police protection, housing, schools, medical care, human service agencies and programs have been improved. Services which were needed, but not available to meet special needs of some of the people before the period of growth, are now provided to a greater extent. As a result of the growth, public facilities have been upgraded. More efficient procedures for conducting public business have been

developed. Additional improvements are now being planned, with stated confidence that they can be provided.

4.3.3 Social Cohesion

There appears to be little doubt that social cohesion was reduced during the peak of energy development. This, however, was a transitional period, and the situation never reached what could be called anomie or extreme disorganization. What happened was that the older bases of integration were challenged by the change and were not sufficiently strong to cope with all of the changes which were occurring. The "explosion" which was described above by a respondent as ending the period of separation and denial at the peak of the first major period of in-migration was a turning point in community cohesion. The old basis of integration was being stretched and the new basis--a more dynamic basis of cohesion and community focus--had not fully emerged. These two forms of solidarity crossed, as it were, sometime in 1976 or 1977. The old basis certainly has not disappeared, but most of the oldtimers who carry that old basis of Craig's integration tend to reflect upon the recent past with the judgement that the "change was a good thing". The diversity of life in Craig today--though it remains a quiet country town in comparison to much of modern society--could not have been integrated by the mechanisms of solidarity which held Craig together in the 1960's. But the evidence is that a new basis of solidarity--solidarity in a more open system or field--has emerged which is appropriate to the more diverse current situation.

The community through this transition has retained a great deal of autonomy (in the sense of local decision making having a major effect on local change). Energy development was promoted by community leaders and was apparently welcomed at least in hindsight, by most local groups. There is no evidence that the companies which participated in the energy development have come to dominate local government or even, as a cohesive force, to dominate the local economy. These companies clearly represent major forces in the present structure; but the ranchers also are a major force and there are several other forces in the present community. None of these can be said to dominate the field at present. The interaction among relatively diverse, respectively powerful forces, provides the emergent integration which is the essential basis of community cohesion in Craig. Where these forces come together (or at least do not contradict one another), a powerful base from which Craig's autonomy as a community can be expressed is formed.

4.4 Needed Research

Some of the questions left unanswered by this study, and unfortunately by virtually all impact studies, are of crucial policy importance. Taking a long-run perspective on social organization change and considering the parameters of the concept of social well-being reviewed above, the conclusion is reached (qualified by data limitations) that energy development has had many more positive than negative consequences on social life in Craig. The people generally are better off financially, services are better, equity is

more characteristic of public life, and a base of community solidarity relevant to active participation in modern society has emerged. What is lost in such an assessment, however, is the possibility that profound, perhaps avoidable, suffering occurred in Craig but was missed either by the researchers insistence upon hard evidence or by the biases of interviewers and respondents. This is a crucial policy issue rather than merely another case of "looking for a bear which constantly disappears". Potential disruption of the well-being of people is one of the major justifications of federal involvement in impact assessment. Policy must be made, it is agreed, on the basis of documented facts, not on the basis of unsubstantiated hints. But the hints are there and cannot be ignored. Focused research, dealing specifically and intensely with human suffering in the rapid growth phase of energy development, should be of the highest order of priority in impact research in the future.

There was in Craig a period of crises. Planning was inadequate to meet immediate needs for housing. Merchants and customers were offended by one another. Disagreements arose among friends over the propriety of investments in growth ventures. The elderly were upset by the changes (one respondent said that several older people died as a result of distress with the noise and confusion of the change). Fragmentary and essentially unreliable evidence suggests that crime increased, that family disruption increased, and, even less clearly, that mental distress increased. Clear indicators, especially of trends or rates of personal and family disruption, must be developed

if the central policy question of social impact assessment is to be answered with facts.

Opposing theories, each with significant support in scientific research (though not explicitly in the problem setting of interest here), can be formulated about the relationship between rapid, energy-related growth in small towns and the rate of pathological disruption of individual and community well-being. One is contained in the "boom-town" literature--a body of speculative discussions of energy growth consequences--and holds that the time rate of personal disruption is increased dramatically, at least in the short-run, by rapid changes such as described in Craig. The other theory, phrased by the director of Craig's mental health center, is that the stress of change presents problems in living, but that the process of dealing with these problems is more supportive of mental well-being than the stability of small, relatively depressed western towns. Research is needed to test opposing models which could be elaborated from these opposing theories.

Footnotes

- 1 The National Jail Survey, by the National Center for Criminal Statistics, reports that nine persons were being held in the Moffat County Jail on February 15, 1978.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A
Example Interview Guide

A.1 Agency Interviews

- A.1.1 Interviews with Service Agencies
(school, social services-welfare, law enforcement, public health, mental health, judge if possible)

A.1.1.1 Schools

- 1) Introduce yourself and explain purpose -- want to know how community addressed each of the needs that occurred during period of rapid growth (or last five years).
- 2) Review population data and causes of growth.
- 3) Review school data (have copy ready for them)
Make any corrections/additions or comments. If data not available locally, find out where it would be.
- 4) How has demand changed? Why? (esp. energy growth)
- 5) Has classroom space been adequate and available when needed to meet demand? If not, when was problem period? Why was there the problem? How was it resolved?
- 6) What important changes have occurred in the area of . . .?
Was that a problem? How were problems addressed? What are concerns for future?
 - curriculum/education approach
 - student behavior and characteristics - probe esp. for transiency (check availability of turnover rates)
 - administrative procedures
 - any special programs for newcomers
 - any special problems created by newcomers
 - any changes due to growth
 - financing
- 7) What school-related changes or issues have there been that drew public interest or participation? (e.g., consolidation, new school construction, etc.) Point is to articulate public decision-making process. What are concerns?
 - Who, when, what, how, why. Who were the parties involved?
 - Who was not involved who logically should have been?
 - If there were factions, identify issue and probe for recurrence and for names of prime actors on both sides.
 - Was there a point when problems started being addressed in a new way? When? Why?
- 8) At the beginning of the growth period (or 10 years ago), who were the influentials in the community?

- How has that changed? What was energy development's role? Who were key decision-makers for community during growth period?
- 9) Check for changes in extra-local linkages (source of funds, contacts, source of teachers in-service, etc.)
- 10) In their opinion, were there groups in the community that have been (or would be) affected differently by the growth and energy development?
 - Both positive and negative
 - Who, how and why (seek mechanism and understanding of change and community structure that distributes effects/opportunities)
 - (prompt for employment, housing, services, schools, way-of-life)
- 11) Functional groups and social differentiation:
 - try to get a description of criteria for social differentiation (in pre-growth period if there was one) and of each of the major groups (size, livelihood, geographic location, ethnicity, property ownerships, relationships between groups) How has that changed? (Criteria, groups or group characteristics). The purpose is twofold: (1) to describe structural/organization characteristics of community and (2) to identify attributes of groups that could influence distribution of project effects. Get names of group representatives. (Important for interviewing but also to illustrate familiarity with different strata.)
- 12) Demographic characteristics of respondent
 - position and history of employment
 - length of residence in community
 - where from
 - family characteristics
 - age
 - sex
 - relationship to energy development

A.1.1.2 Law Enforcement

- 1) Introduction
- 2) Review growth data
- 3) Review Part I and Part 2 crime and service provision
 - reported crime
 - calls for service
 - budget
 - uniformed officers and personnel
 - cars
- 4) Did crime and/or calls for service increase during growth period? What are expectations?
 - what types of crime(s)
 - who were (will be) perpetrators?
 - who were (will be) victims? Did (will) crime occur in particular neighborhoods/areas?

- what do they think was (or will be) reason for change?
- (Sheriff, what about specific county problems -- trespass, poaching, cattle rustling, etc. what is county people's view?)
- 5) Service provision
 - Were (will personnel and equipment (be) adequate? If not, when was it inadequate? Why was it inadequate?
 - What important changes have occurred (or are anticipated) in their department?
 - staff
 - administrative procedures
 - manner of enforcement
 - source of financing
- 6) What law enforcement changes (or issues) have there been that drew public interest or participation? (e.g., new jail, consolidation of enforcement) Object is to articulate public decision-making, and to discuss sequence of response by community and leaders re: energy-related demands)
- 7) At beginning of growth period, who were the influentials? How (and when) did that change? What was role of energy development?
- 8) Check for changes in extra-local linkage.
- 9) Ask about groups and distribution of growth effects to different groups. Check especially for relationships among groups. Ask if they know representatives from each group that could be interviewed.
- 10) If appropriate, ask personal interview questions:
 - position and history of employment
 - length of residence in community
 - where from
 - family characteristics
 - age
 - sex
 - relationships to energy development

A.1.1.3 Social Service/Public Assistance and Mental Health

- 1) Introduction
- 2) Review growth patterns and causes
- 3) Review agency data structure of agency
 - by type of assistance: total annual expenditures; expenditures per 1,000 population; caseloads; staff levels
- 4) How has demand for service changed? Why? Change in use patterns by long-time residents? Why? Different use patterns by newcomers? Why? How are these reflected in the data?
- 5) Have staff and resources been adequate and available when needed to meet demand? If not, when was problem period? Why was there the problem? How was it

- resolved? Have they received adequate support from state?
- 6) What important changes have occurred (or are anticipated) in the areas of . . . What is their view on source of change? Any data?
 - child abuse and neglect
 - marital discord, spouse abuse, divorce
 - alcoholism
 - 7) What public service/assistance-related changes or issues have there been that drew public interest or participation? Describe outcome, how does that fit into overall decision-making pattern in community? Was there a point (in growth period) when decisions started being made in a new way or by different people?
 - 8) Who were influentials at beginning of growth period? How has that changed? What was energy development's role? Get names of really key individuals re: community actions.
 - 9) What distinguishable groups are there in the community? What are criteria for social differentiation? What are distinctive attributes of each group? How would one characterize relationships between groups? What about prior to growth? (Any particular neighborhoods?) Names of people who could discuss each group.
 - 10) Have groups been affected differently by growth? Especially energy development? What about inflation? How have effects of energy development been distributed among groups? How has that occurred?
 - 11) Demographic characteristics of respondent
 - position and history of employment
 - length of residence in community
 - where from
 - family characteristics
 - age
 - sex
 - relationship to energy development

A.1.2 Group Representatives/General Population

A.1.2.1 Introduction

A.1.2.2 Personal Biography

- 1) Background (family, where lived)
- 2) When came to community
- 3) Educational history
- 4) Occupational history, esp. during 1970's
 - occupational mobility/immobility
 - energy-related employment - how did (would) they get it? entrepreneurial - ask about financing, business style and expansions
- 5) Housing - price or availability

- 6) Family history - school and employment history of spouse; school experience of children
- 7) Service provision - any problems? evaluation -- compare predevelopment with now.
- 8) What recreational/social activities available and used; compare predevelopment (or future) with now.
- 9) Who are their friends, occupation - length of residence, location - how did they become friends? Change during study period?
- 9a) Who are their children's friends?
- 10) How were friends affected by development?
- 11) How about others in the community? What other groups do they see? Were any affected differently? How?
- 12) Have newcomers been accepted as part of the community? Examples of interaction between long-time residents and newcomers; between various groups.
- 13) How do they feel they personally have been affected (or anticipate)?
- 14) How do they feel their neighborhood has been affected (or anticipate)?
- 15) If parents are in community, how have they been affected (or anticipate)?
- 16) What changes have occurred in the community (or anticipate)? What effects have there been from energy development (or anticipate)?
 - change in decision-making
 - change in orientation/focus
 - sense of vitality
 - sense of community purpose
- 17) General satisfaction with expected changes
- 18) If good spokesperson for their group
 - profile of group predevelopment
 - livelihood
 - size
 - location (residential)
 - property ownership
 - demographic characteristics
 - special needs
 - intergroup relationships
 - position in community and relationship with other groups
 - distribution of effects
 - employment and income
 - size
 - demographic characteristics
 - housing
 - facilities/services
 - decision-making
 - relationship with others
 - profile now

A.1.3 Decision-Maker Interviews

The purpose of these interviews is to describe the evolution of community-level response to the demands of growth. In addition to this description, the purpose is to be able to determine how pre-growth community and decision-making characteristics influenced (or will influence) the response pattern and how the modification of the decision-making process has affected (will affect) community-level decision-making both during and after rapid growth. Of particular interest is the role and utilization of legislation, especially legislation developed for impact mitigation.

1. Introduction
2. Review chronology and source of growth (complete Figure 3)
3. Rapid growth creates some major needs and changes in a community. Discuss how the community addressed some of the major ones. Ask about ones already identified, but pursue others they identify.
 - 1) Schools
 - Building new facilities -- how did votes come out on major bond issues? Why? Were they able to raise adequate funds? What were problems? Why did they occur? How were they addressed? Who? Were they solved? Will they occur again next time? What role did state actions/legislation play in response?
 - How did response evolve over study period? How did the changes affect how things are done now? Was there a point when decisions or community response was approached in a new or different way?
 - 2) Housing
 - How did housing response occur? How was it coordinated? What were the problems? (probe financing and zoning and legislation) Why did they occur? How were they addressed? Who? Were they solved? Will they recur next time? Role of state actions-legislation
 - How did response evolve over study period? How do the changes that occurred affect how things are done now?
 - 3) Planning and zoning
 - How and when did formal planning and zoning get started and staffed?
 - What role did it play throughout the study period?
 - What were problems? or key decisions?
 - How did they occur?
 - How were they addressed - by whom?
 - Were they solved or will they recur?
 - What role did legislative actions play?
 - How did response evolve over time? What use was made of legislation? Where did initiative come from? Was there resistance?
 - 4) Public works - discuss major decisions as above
 - 5) Law enforcement - as schools

- 6) Animal control - What have they done? How and why? How successful?
- 7) Review how and when state acts designed to assist with the impacts of energy growth have been used. How important have they been? (e.g., for Wyoming: (1) sales tax (2) farm loan board (3) joint power acts (4) industrial siting (5) severance tax)
- 8) In respondent's opinion, how much local control has (will) the community been (be) able to exercise over the important decisions and actions that affected it during growth period?
 - was prewarning adequate and accurate (information)?
 - cooperation from project sponsor? Describe how and why
 - was uncertainty about reality of development a problem? How, why?
 - been able to work with state in handling problems?
- 9) Clarify their perception of the role and importance of state involvement and of large non-local corporate involvement in the community economy/affairs who initiated? What effect now? Future?
- 10) How has (will) the political leadership and government structure in the community changed? regarding city council, county commission, county chairman of political parties?
 - Have there been any changes as a direct result of energy development?
 - Any that are particularly important to community's response or ability to respond?
 - Have companies participated? How?
 - Have (will) community leaders been (be) willing to address problems and take action? Why not, what was (will be) impediment?
 - Has (will) conflict of interest been (be) important in shaping community response, either in terms of actions taken or public trust/community support?
- 11) If business person or banker:
 - Was there (is there anticipation of) a shortage of financing for either businesses or consumers during the study period? Why? How was (will) it (be) addressed? What effect did (will) it have? Where do locals bank?
 - Has banking structure in the community changed? In what way? Why?
 - Did banking policies and practices change during the study period?
 - What role, if any, did energy companies play in banking, local (vs. non-local) businesses?
- 12) Demographic characteristics
 - occupation and previous employment history
 - length of residence in community
 - origin

- family characteristics (including other relatives)
- age
- sex
- relationship to energy development
- 13) Check to see if they feel any pertinent information has been neglected
- 14) Names of other people to talk to
 - influentials
 - group representatives
 - administrative leaders

- family characteristics (including other relatives)
- age
- sex
- relationship to energy development
- (13) Check to see if they feel any pertinent information has been neglected
- (14) Names of other people to talk to
- individuals
- group representatives
- administrative leaders